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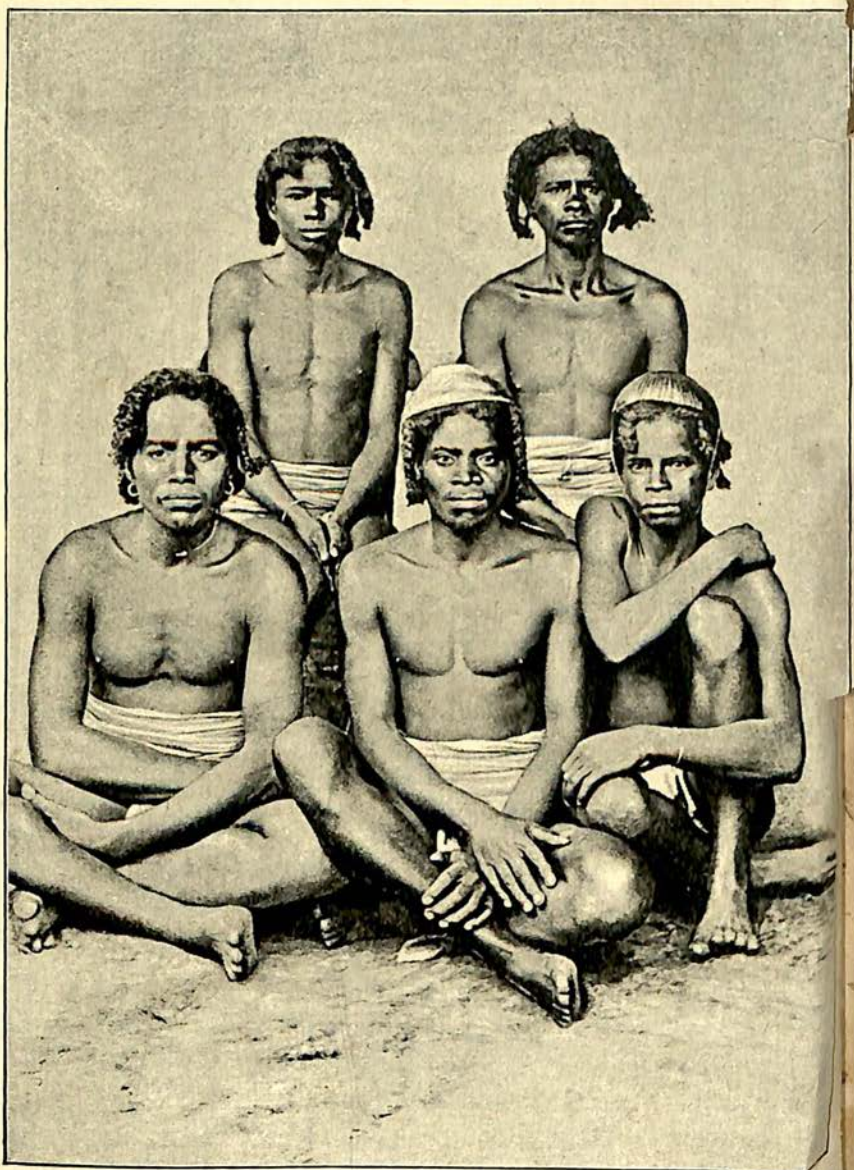

NATIVES OF SOUTH OF MADAGASCAR.
(ANTANOSY.)

MADAGASCAR; OR, ROBERT DRURY'S JOURNAL, DURING FIFTEEN YEARS' CAPTIVITY ON THAT ISLAND

AND A FURTHER DESCRIPTION OF MADAGASCAR BY THE ABBÉ ALEXIS ROCHON

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EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY CAPT. PASFIELD OLIVER, R.A., AUTHOR OF "MADAGASCAR"

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MADAGASCAR:

OR,

Robert Drury's

JOURNAL,

DURING

Fifteen Years Captivity on that Island.

CONTAINING

I. His VOYAGE to the *East Indies*, and short Stay there.

II. An ACCOUNT of the Ship-wreck of the *Degrave* on the Island of *MADAGASCAR*; the Murder of Captain *Younge* and his Ship's Company, except Admiral *BEMBO*'s Son, and some few Others, who escap'd the Hands of the barbarous Natives.

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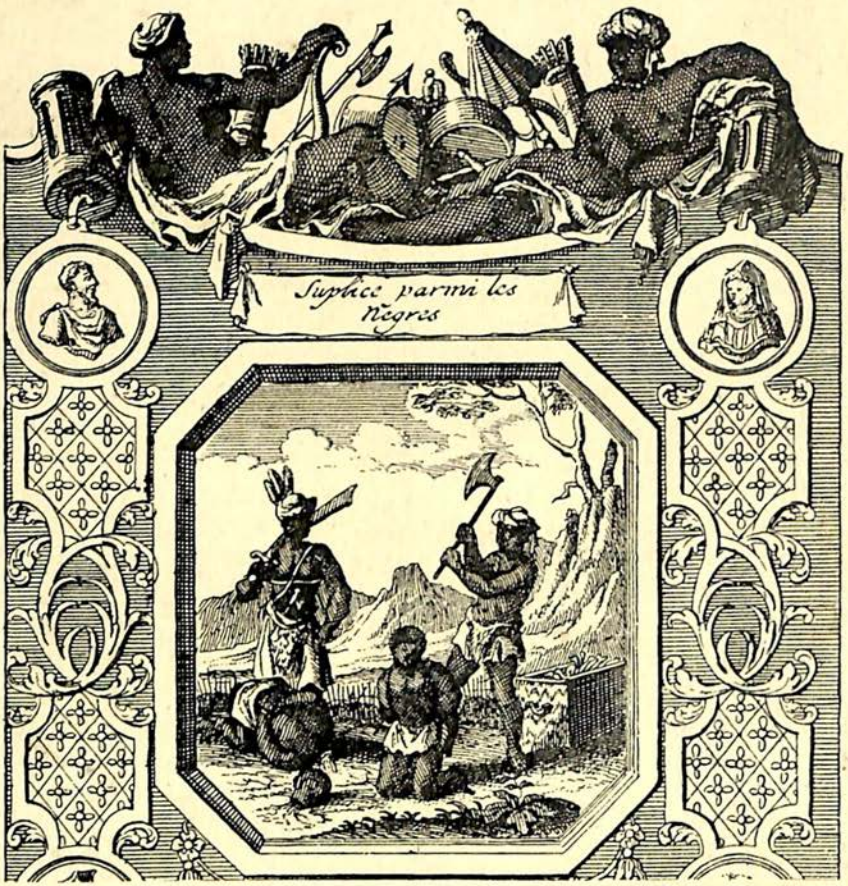

EXECUTION OF PRISONERS.

(*From Gueudeville's Map of Madagascar*, 1719.)

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN engaged in drawing up a bibliography of the literature connected with the great African island, Madagascar, I was, not unnaturally, struck by the prominent position which the journal of Robert Drury, the sailor-boy, had hitherto occupied as a reliable book of reference; for I found that, relatively, it held among our few British authors, who had then treated of Madagascar, the same honourable position that the great standard work of De Flacourt has so rightly occupied in the far more numerous ranks of the French authors to whom we owe nearly all our real knowledge of early Malagasy history.

Good old Samuel Copland, Captain Owen and his Lieutenant Boteler, William Ellis the Apostle and Politician, Dr. Mullens, Messrs. Sibree, Richardson, and the missionaries of all sects, have indeed generally, if not altogether, adopted as gospel truth and literal matter of fact Drury's statements as to the manners and customs of the Sakalava tribes, and pinned their faith, as to the testimony from an eye-witness, of the incidents and adventures narrated in the extremely curious and interesting story of the unsophisticated voyager. Nor did I find that the British writers were at all singular in their belief in the tales of Mr. Robert Drury; for the Swedish missionaries, who have had good opportunities of witnessing

the actual habits of the islanders on the west coast, and all the best authorities in France, notably MM. Noel and Barbié du Bocage, Captains Guillain and De Langle; with M. d'Escamps (Macé Déscartes), and, above all, the supreme modern authority on all subjects connected with Madagascar, M. A. Grandidier, whose opinion among all others deserves most to be respected; every one of them firmly believes the unsophisticated story of the poor deserted cabin-boy, Robin. Before expressing my own opinion on the subject, it may be as well if I produce an unexceptionable piece of evidence, strongly confirmatory of Drury's story, or, at all events, of the truth of the main facts which he mentions concerning his shipwreck in the *Degrave*, East Indiaman. It is a letter published in the correspondence of John Hughes, the poet, and although it is dated twenty years after the publication of the first edition of Robert Drury's journal; yet, as second and third editions of the book were printed in the years 1731 and 1743, the book was evidently well known, and subsequent events would have made it much talked about by all naval people who navigated on the other side of the Cape of Good Hope, and came in sight of Madagascar. Whilst on the subject of the various editions of this book, it may be added, that later editions were published in 1750, 1807 and 1826; but even this does not sufficiently convey an idea of its popularity, for it may safely be said that not a single work on Madagascar has been published since which does not quote, one way or another, largely from Drury's observations.

The Rev. Mr. Hirst, F.R.S., to the Rev. Mr. Duncombe.*

H.M.S. *Lenox*, OFF MADAGASCAR,
Sept. 6, 1759.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—When we left England, three important expeditions were carrying on, the first under Commodore Moore in the West Indies, the next under Admiral Saunders against Quebec, and

* The writer of this letter (who was the eldest son of the Rev. Dr. Hirst, late rector of Benwell and Sacum, Hertfordshire, and was educated at St. Peter's College, Cambridge), after having served as chaplain on board several of his Majesty's ships (particularly the *Hampton Court*, when despatched to Lisbon after the earthquake, in 1755, of

the third under Admiral Boscawen sent to the Mediterranean. The event of these must now be determined and known at home. I hope they have all answered the public expectations.*

Our squadron sailed from St. Helens, in company with the latter, on the 15th of April, 1759. In the chops of the Channel, our two fleets separated to pursue our respective destinations.

Our first place of rendezvous was the island of Madeira, where we anchored May 2nd. This is a very fertile spot, but the generality of the inhabitants are poor; at which you will not wonder, when I tell you how much they are pestered with swarms of idle priests and monks—mere drones, who live upon the honey of the hive.

"*Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes.*"

---

which city he made a drawing in its ruins), was at this time chaplain to H.M.S. *Lenox*, and secretary to Rear-admiral Cornish. While he was on the coast of Coromandel, he was present at the sieges of Pondicherry, Velour, &c., and on June 6, 1761, he made an accurate observation of the transit of Venus over the sun at the Government House at Madras, in company with Governor (now Lord) Pigot, etc., of which an account is given in the "Philosophical Transactions," vol. lvi., and in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1762, p. 177. In March, 1763, he was appointed chaplain to the factory at Calcutta, by the favour of Mr. Vansittart, then Governor of Bengal, and resided there, in general esteem, till the year 1765, when he returned to England with his excellent friend, in his Majesty's ship the *Panther*. In their passage Mr. Hirst took a view of the Cape of Good Hope, which was engraved in 1766 by Mr. Canot. At the second transit of Venus, on June 3, 1769, Mr. Hirst was one of the assistants to the Astronomer-Royal at Greenwich, and an account of his observation was published in the "Philosophical Transactions," vol. lviii. p. 361, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1770, p. 401. Being now in easy circumstances, happy in himself and in his friends, nothing could have tempted him to "wander again over the face of the great deep," but the ties of gratitude and the cares of friendship. On a heart like his these had claims that were irresistible. As chaplain to the commissioner, he, therefore, embarked with Mr. Vansittart on board the *Aurora*, in September, 1799, and in that fatal voyage accompanied, alas! the supervisors to "that country from whose bosom no traveller returns." Let this suffice—the wound is too painful to bear any further probing.

* They did most fully witness the conquest of Guadeloupe and Quebec, and the destruction of the Toulon fleet. Admiral Cornish's squadron was no less successful by contributing largely to the reduction of Pondicherry and Manilla.

Here I had the pleasure of seeing a comet* in the Constellation *Crater*. From its great southern latitude, I believe it was not visible in England, as it disappeared before it made any considerable progress to the northward. I transmitted a crude account of it to my good friend, Commissioner Meade, of the Customs, but by being on board, and wanting proper instruments, could not be very exact in the observation. However, I traced its path in the heavens with sufficient accuracy to determine its motion and inclination to the ecliptic.

After we had taken in our wine and other necessaries for our voyage, we prepared to leave this island, and were under weigh May 8th. Our next rendezvous was St. Augustine's Bay, on the west side of the island of Madagascar, where we arrived, August 11th, and having completed our water and refreshed our people, sailed from thence, September 1st.

The accounts of this place are very imperfect, from its being so little frequented by Europeans, except in time of war, when the English East Indian fleets generally touch here to be supplied with fresh provisions, etc. In short, it is under the same predicament to us that we were to the Romans, being *penitus toto divisa orbe*.† But

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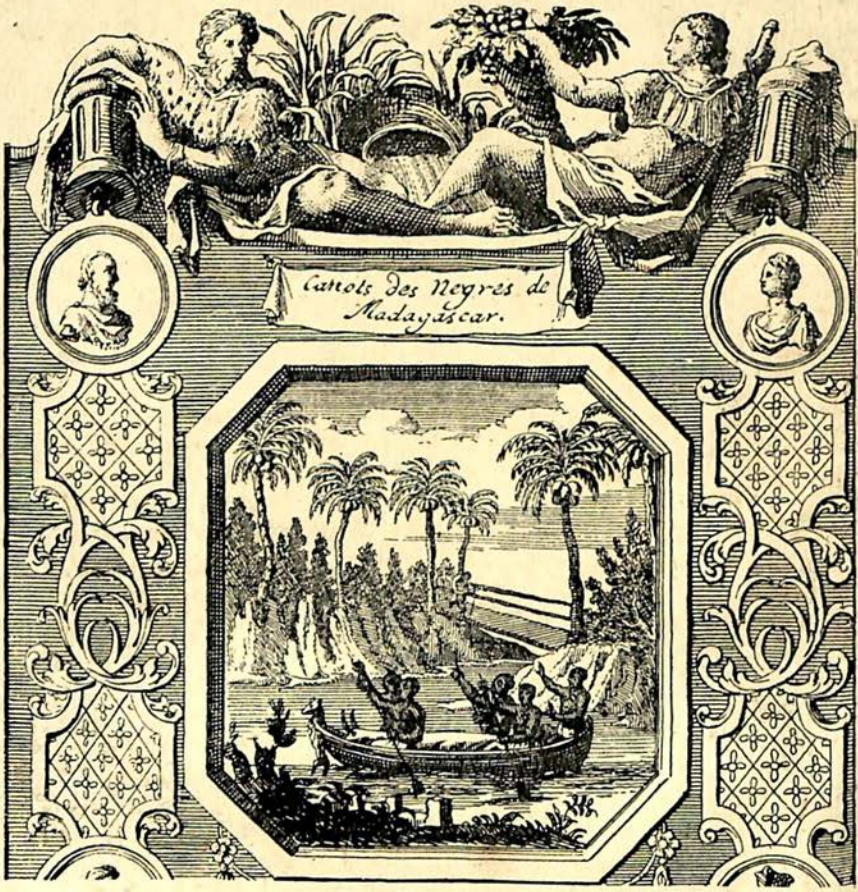
* Probably the famous comet which was first observed in 1682 and which Edmund Halley, who succeeded Flamsteed as Astronomer-Royal, announced as identical with those seen in 1607 and 1531. Captain Halley accordingly predicted its return for 1758–59, and the said comet effected its perihelion passage on the 12th of March, 1759. It was therefore departing when observed by Mr. Hirst in the island of Madeira.

† The best and most authentic account ever given of Madagascar was published in 1729, by Robert Drury, who, being shipwrecked on the south coast of that island when a boy in the *Degrave*, East Indiaman, lived there as a slave fifteen years, and after his return to England, among those who knew him (and he was known to many, being a porter at the East India House) had the character of a downright honest man, without any appearance of fraud or imposture. In confirmation of the truth of this narrative it exactly agrees, as far as it goes, with the journal kept by Mr. John Benbow (eldest son of the brave but unfortunate admiral), who, being second mate of the *Degrave*, was also shipwrecked, and narrowly escaped being massacred by the natives with the rest of the crew, Drury and three other boys only excepted. Mr. Benbow's journal was accidentally burnt, in the year 1714, in a fire near Aldgate, but several of his friends who had seen it recollected the particulars and its correspondence with Drury's. To the circumstance of its being thus destroyed as well as the subject of



NATIVE CANOE.

(*From Gueudeville's Map of Madagascar*, 1719.)

SHOOTING WITH THE BOW.

DRESS.

(From Gueudeville's Map of Madagascar, 1719.)

be this as it may, it is a very fine island, productive not only of the necessaries, but even the delicacies of life. It would fill many sheets to acquaint you with the anecdotes I collected, and the observations that occurred during our stay there. Suffice it to say (merely for the sake of thrusting in a poetical quotation),that in the offing, St. Augustine's Bay, we saw many whales, which frequently swam very near the ship, and were near half as long—an awful sight! These the natives called *tushes.** They spout water to an incredible height, and in the most stark calm will, by flouncing and lashing their tails, stir the sea to a tempest. They abound so much in these parts that it is no uncommon sight to see ten or twelve of them spouting together, which, at a distance, very much resemble the sea breaking on a ledge of rocks.

Huge of bulk,
Wallowing unwieldly, enormous in their gait,
Tempest the ocean—here Leviathan
Hugest of living creatures, on the deep,
Stretched like a promontory sleeps or swims,
And seems a moving land—and at his gills
Draws in, and at his trunk spouts out a sea! †
O rare John Milton!

Madagascar is divided into a number of petty kingdoms or states, the largest of which is that of Buques, which (as the natives informed me) abounds with gold mines, as does the kingdom of Volambo ‡ with those of silver. And there is great reason to credit this assertion; for the teeth of many of the sheep and other cattle killed on board our ship were so much covered with a metalline scale as to resemble teeth of brass. This the miners are said to look upon as an infallible indication of a mine being under the surface on which such cattle

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it, the compiler of Mr. Benbow's life in the "Biographia Britannica," vol. i. p. 688, seems to have been a stranger: instead of "*a large and very comprehensive book,*" it was only a journal, like those kept by every sea officer.

* Hova name for whale is *Trozona.*

† Compare Mons. de Godeau, who was made Bishop of Grasse, by Cardinal Richelieu:—

Tous rendissent hommage à ces lourdes baleines,
Qu'on prend pour des écueils sur la face des flots.

‡ The highland tribe of the Hovas was termed *Amboalambo* by the west coast Saklava; the south-west tribes were designated *Buques* in Danville's map of 1749.

graze. I will not answer for the infallibility of this trial, but am sure it is more consistent with reason than the idle tales of the divining rods. In the first volume of the learned Boerhave's* "Elements of Chemistry," p. 22, part ii., I met with the following observation; the author treating of gold says, "In Madagascar there is a very soft soil which runs like lead with a gentle fire." For the truth of this, he refers to Flacourt's "History of the Island of Madagascar," chap. 49. I have not this book, yet I have often observed a large button of a yellow caste like those which the Dutch wear on their breeches, tied, by way of ornament, to the crown of the Madagascar prince's heads.† This I found was remarkably soft, which made me think it was base metal, but they all affirmed it was fine gold. I shall mention but one circumstance more to corroborate the above opinion. Not far from Tent-rock, in St. Augustine's Bay, in the king Baubau's dominions, is a mineral spring, which also affords reason to suspect that there are mines of some sort or other in its neighbourhood. However,

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* M. Herman Boerhave was a lecturer in Medicine, at Leyden, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and author of the "Institutiones Medicæ," in 1707.

† In like manner, Drury says, p. 44: "The men adorn themselves with *mannelers*, which are rings for the wrists; and these both men and women of distinction wear. They are sometimes of gold (but where they get it from it is more than I know, perhaps worth enquiring after), often of silver, but more often of copper, which I found at length is produced, and made in the country as well as iron." Again, p. 376, describing the dress of the king of Ferraingher (called by the Europeans Yong-Owl), he says, "On his forehead were several gold beads, about his neck was a very fine gold necklace, on each wrist about six *mannelers* of silver, and four rings of gold on his finger." And p. 393: "They have silver in some of the most mountaineous and inland parts of the country, and know how to make earplates of it and *mannelers*, so that I have the strongest reason to think the country produces it. Nor is there much reason to doubt but gold is to be found here." If, therefore, it is true that the French have established a colony in Madagascar, these hidden treasures may perhaps have been one of their inducements, and not commercial views only, for which their neighbouring islands of Mauritius or Bourbon, are so conveniently situated. As early as 1595 the first Dutch voyagers, who sailed round the Cape to the East Indies, noticed these metal wristlets worn by the Malagasy natives in Antongil Bay. "*Leurs ornemens sont des bracelets d'étain, ou du plus bas argent, de la forme des manilles de cuivre que l'on porte en Guinée*" ("Voyage de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales").

our European Mammon has not yet set foot on this rich soil; for he, according to Milton, first taught men to value gold:—

By him first
Men also, and by his suggestion taught,
Ransacked the centre, and with impious hands
Rifled the bowels of their mother earth
For treasure better hid.

I am etc.,
W. HIRST.

The above letter makes it very evident that Drury's story was generally believed in the middle of the eighteenth century, and examination of the pages of all writers since confirms the impression, that credit was universally attached to the innocent story of the guileless sailor-boy.

The first French author, as far as I know, who ventured to oppose this popular verdict in favour of Drury's veracity, was the well-known publicist M. Emile Blanchard, who, in the pages of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, for 1872, wrote: "Robert Drury, having been released after fifteen years of slavery, returned to England. The story of his adventures, which were published, produced a decided sensation among our neighbours across the Channel. The truthfulness of the narrator has been affirmed; nevertheless, on several grounds, there is room for doubt. Drury asserts that he was a slave. A European reduced to slavery! that is impossible, say those who know the Malagasy; they might probably kill a European, but would never degrade him to the lowest rank. . . . The pretended slave enters into minute particulars of the sort of life he led under his master."

My own faith in the reliance to be placed on the so-called "*faithful narrative of matters of fact, interspersed with a variety of surprising incidents*," which Robert Drury purports to relate, was considerably shaken by my first reading in the famous old De Flacourt's "Histoire de Madagascar" (1661) several details which, almost word for word, reminded me, not only of manners and customs, but even incidents, which curiously coincided even to resemblance in phrases, with parallel passages in Drury's relation.

M. Emile Blanchard detected the same extraordinary resemblance. "The operations of war," he says, "among the Malagasy, which we learn from De Flacourt, are described in all their details by Robert Drury. In the country where Drury lived, the dress, the mode of life, the superstitions resemble those which we have seen depicted in the country formerly occupied by the French. The trust in the *Olis* is the same, the *ombiasses* hold the same ideas; the young English captive has met with one of these men who came from the province Anossi."

Drury, in other words his editor for him, expressly states (p. 106) what was true in one sense, but certainly not in another, that:—

"Whether any of the *French* Authors of Voyages have wrote anything of him (King Samuel) I know not; nor have I had the opportunity of seeing their Histories of *Madagascar* to compare with this of mine. It is exactly as the People themselves told me, and I shall not alter or vary from their Account of it, whether it is agreeable to what others have said, or no."

Now it is, indeed, highly improbable that the unlettered Drury could consult the works of François Cauche, 1658, and De Flacourt, 1661, written in French; but it is in patent evidence that his Editor not only knew French, but that he actually used a French map of De Flacourt which had been copied by Ogilby, King Charles II.'s cosmographer and leader of the revels, and previously reproduced by Dapper.

M. Gabriel Marcel, who, as Keeper of the Charts at the National Library in Paris, is the best authority on such subjects in Europe, remarks:—

"J'ajouterai un correctif à ce que vous dites: que Drury a connu l'histoire de Madagascar de Flacourt, parue en 1661, et en donnant comme preuve que sa carte est celle de Flacourt en qu'on retrouve sur la sienne, 'A fruitfull country abandonn'd and ruined by the Wars.' Cette inscription est reproduite sur la carte donnée par Dapper, et je crois qu'il faut dire, pour être tout a fait dans la verité, si Drury ou Defoe n'a pas connu l'Histoire de la grande isle de Madagascar composée par le Sieur de Flacourt du moins il a eu connaissance de la

Description de l'Afrique de Dapper qui reproduit la carte originale de Flacourt et qui abrège et résume le texte du voyageur français."

In Flacourt's map, constructed in 1657, a tract of country south of the Matsiatra R., marked "*Pays riche en bestial*," is reproduced by Drury's adaptation as "*A Country inrich'd with Cattle*," but the draughtsman employed has not even taken the trouble to alter the French names, except in one or two instances, and one of these is certainly notable; for example, the district north of the Mansiatre River, named Hazonringhets by Flacourt (who, by the way, does not attempt to describe this portion of the island), is marked *Sacoa Lauvor* (*i.e.*, Sakalava) in Drury's map of 1729. This is, almost certainly, the first record of the name Sakalava, as a generic name of the tribes on this coast.

On Bellin's map of 1765 "*les Seclaves*" appears as part of Terre de Garda, north of Pointe de Chacoul, and at the mouth of the *Rivière des Seclaves*, south of the Moranda (*i.e.*, Morondava) River. In Flacourt's map the tribe Zaffe Lava Tangha is shown as occupying the Onilahy River, above the *Siveh* who represented the modern Vezo tribes of the coast. Now any one frequenting the part which is marked on Thornton's Chart of 1700 as Youngowle, Mandeeta *or* Morondava, and St. Augustine's Bay, would have become acquainted with the Zaffe Lava Tangha, which tribe, by the chance of war, seems to have migrated northwards in the course of the many wars and raids amidst a constantly shifting population: so that the pirates and slavers may readily have caught up the name Zaffe Lava and attached it to all the tribes with whom they came in contact along the coast. In like manner, as the first foreigners insisted on bestowing the name Madagaskar on the African island, so our sailors christened the west coast people Sakalavas; in much the same way as, in later days, our blue-jackets christened the Turks Bono Johnnies, in the Mediterranean, the Levant, and the Black Sea.

Mr. William Lee, in his biography of Defoe, writes:— "*Madagascar; or, Robert Drury's Journal during fifteen years captivity on that Island*, was first published on May 24, 1729, and is, in many respects, one of the most interesting accounts

that appeared between the date of 'Robinson Crusoe' and the death of Daniel Defoe." "Madagascar," he adds, "was a centre around which much of our author's (Defoe's) genius in fictitious writing turns; and, although surrounded by savage human beings, the isolation of the English boy Drury is perfect. Many parts of the book on religion and the origin of government are avowedly the work of an editor, and there are occasional turns of humour resembling Defoe, but the language rarely does so. It is certain there was a Robert Drury—that he had been a captive as stated—that he wrote a large account of his adventures—that he was seen, questioned, and could give any information required—after the publication of his book. In the latter part of his life Defoe had many imitators; I think that one of them very ably edited Drury's manuscript. Possibly Defoe may have read it and inserted some sentences, but as I am in doubt even of that, I cannot place the book in the list of his works." Thus far Mr. William Lee, whose authority on Defoe's writings is undoubtedly of great weight; and it is, indeed, most evident that the closer the journal of Drury is examined the greater becomes the conviction that the narrative has been severely edited, if not altered, and expanded or vastly improved and padded by the practised hand of a master who, if not the famous Daniel himself, was one who closely plagiarised that prolific and not too scrupulous author, who, it will be remembered, died two years after the date above given, viz., in 1731. If not the "unabash'd Defoe," perchance his son, also celebrated in Pope's "Dunciad," was the anonymous editor:

> "*Norton,* from Daniel and Ostræa sprung,*
> *Bless'd with his father's front and mother's tongue,*
> *Hung silent down his never-blushing head,*
> *And all was hush'd as Folly's self lay dead.*"

"We know," says Mr. Lee, speaking of Defoe, "by the

* Norton Defoe, son of the famous Daniel Defoe, one of the authors of the *Flying Post*, and of many hired scurrilous and daily papers, to which he never set his name. The "Dunciad" appeared in May, 1728, just a year before "Drury's Journal."

catalogue of his own library, that it was well stored with 'Voyages and Travels.' His actual experience of the sea was small, and it must have been from books and men that he gathered the professionalities so skilfully converted by his genius into a series of imaginary voyages." Now nine years before the appearance of "Drury's Journal," Defoe had written (1720) "*The Life, Adventures, and Pyracies of the famous Captain Singleton*," in which a portion of the scene is laid in Madagascar; and in 1719 had been published by the same author, "*The King of the Pirates; Being an Account of the Famous Enterprizes of Captain Avery, the Mock King of Madagascar. With his Rambles and Piracies; wherein all the Sham Accounts formerly Publish'd of him are Detected. In two Letters from himself; one During his Stay at Madagascar, and one since his Escape from Thence.*" Both these works, like "Robinson Crusoe," were written as autobiographies, and, moreover, they were printed for some of the same publishers who sold Drury's book, although this is not a point to be insisted on as of any importance in discovering the personality of the editor.

It is decidedly evident that the editor of Drury's book, if not Defoe himself, was not averse to using the same cunning artifices, in which the astute Daniel was an adept, to add to the verisemblance of the fiction he was concocting, as will be made manifest presently by some parallel passages. First, let us compare the prefaces of the two volumes of "Robinson Crusoe" with that of Drury. Thus, of Crusoe's story, "the Editor," so it is stated in the preface, "believes the Thing to be a just History of Fact." Of Drury's narrative, his Editor states also that, "so far as every Body concern'd in the Publication knows, it is nothing else but a plain, honest narrative of Matter of Fact." The writer of "Robinson Crusoe's" second volume speaks of its containing "as strange and surprising Incidents, and as great a Variety of them," etc.—expressions used in the title of Drury's book. In the prefaces of both editions are to be found the religious *Reflections* and *Applications* recommended for the *Instruction* of the reader, and the whole tenour of the prefaces is parallel and analogous. When an author insists so strenuously on the

credibility and religious morality of his story, his readers may be excused if they begin to suspect that his veracity is not above suspicion.

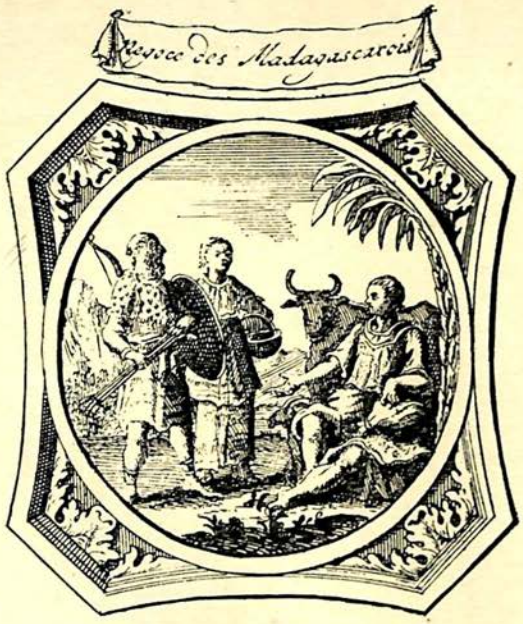
Among the notes under the following pages of the original text will be found several references, which might have been multiplied *ad nauseam*, to the very brief abstract given by Ogilby, in 1666, from De Flacourt's description.

The Reverend J. Richardson, so well known as the author of the Malagasy-English Dictionary, is of opinion that Drury's veracity, on linguistic grounds, is unimpeachable. Drury's Vocabulary has convinced him that the language has really been one all over Madagascar. But if Drury's editor concocted his vocabulary from adaptation of older vocabularies compiled on the east coast, there is no wonder that a coincidence of language should be apparent. If the French vocabularies are taken and reduced to English pronunciation by phonetic spelling, the words used by Drury can be found in the works published by the French fifty years and more before.* Dr. Rost, the Librarian at the India Office, also bases his belief in Drury's honesty, as regards his narrative, on linguistics, affirming that Drury's knowledge of Malagasy could not have been attained from vocabularies extant before his time.

No ethnologist or philologist, however, would dream of quoting "Robinson Crusoe," "Captain Singleton," or the "Pyrate Avery" (who undoubtedly existed), as an unimpeachable authority; so regretfully it must be stated that, in the opinion of the present writer, an examination of the evidence tends to disprove the authenticity of Drury's travels in their entirety, although a basis of fact may probably underlie the various strata of fiction piled thereon.

Take the following parallel passages as an example of inconsistence, to say the least of it, in the memory of the supposed author, or it may be of a *lapsus calami* on the part of the editor, in the course of his wholesale interpolation.

* Mr. Richardson's arguments are given at full length in an appendix at the end of the volume.



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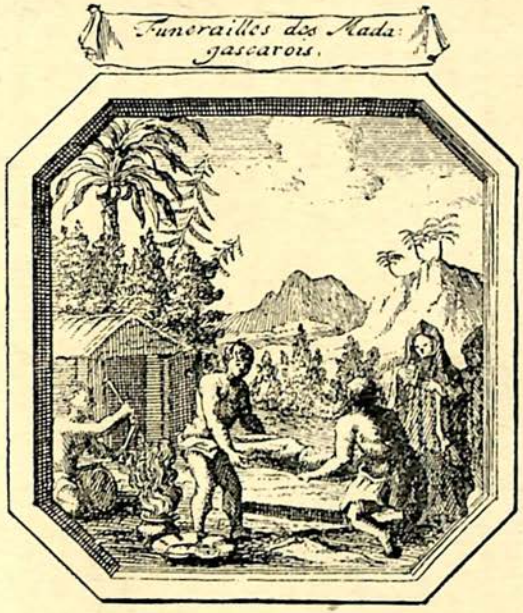


FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

(*From Gueudeville's Map of Madagascar*, 1719.)

'The only Good which I got at Bengall was that I here learnt to swim, and I attain'd to be so great a Proficient in swimming that it was a common Practice for half a dozen of us to tye a *Rupee* a-piece in an Handkerchief about our Middles, and swim four or five Miles up or down the river; and when we came on Shoar the *Gentees* or *Moors* would lend us cloaths to put on while we staid; thus we us'd to sit and regale ourselves for a few Hours with Arrack Punch and a Dinner, and then swim back again" (p. 43).

"It vex'd me to be stopt by a River, not above an hundred Yards over. At length I remembered when I was at *Bengall*, where are the largest *Alligators* in the World, and who have been so bold, as to take a man out of a shallow Boat; that if we came off from the Shore in the Night, we made a small fire at the head, and another at the Stern of the Boat, which the Alligators would not come near" (p. 301).

It has already been mentioned that some of Captain Singleton's adventures are supposed to have happened in Madagascar. Here is a parallel mannerism, one not uncommon to Defoe, and the other by Drury:—

Captain Singleton.

"But the case in short was this: Captain —— (I forbear his name at present for a particular reason), Captain of the East India merchant-ship bound afterwards for China" (p. 154).

Robert Drury.

"and sent such Word to the Captain (whose Name I must not declare, being sworn to the contrary), desiring me to go on Shoar" (p. 17).

Daniel Defoe's *Tracts by the True Born Englishman*, 1703.

"*If to a King they do the Reins commit*
All Men are bound in Conscience to submit;
But then that King must by his Oath assent
to Postulata 's of the Government,
Which if he breaks, he cuts off the Intail
and Power retreats to its Original" (p. 26).

Robert Drury's Journal, 1729.

"They, having now No-body to interrupt them, put their Government into its *Original Form*, by choosing a King who was the nearest related to their former; for there was no other Son but him whom the French took captive" (p. 109).

"Here in short is the *Original of Parliaments* and here, if Power at any time meets with a Cess, if Governments and Thrones become Vacant, to thir Original all Power of Course returns" (p. 133).

"And the *Nature* of the Thing is the *Reason* of the Thing: It was vested in them by the People, because the People were the only *Original* of their *Power*, being the only Power prior to the Constitution" (p. 146).

"I think we need not turn over many Volumes to find the Original of British Parliaments; for they are earlier than all their Histories or even Letters themselves: and as to their *Power* it is founded on the strongest *Basis*, *Reason* and *Nature*" (p. 155).

The above, which are by no means solitary instances of analogous passages, afford some confirmation of the idea that the editing of Drury was done by Defoe, or at all events by one who aped Defoe's methods very closely. It has been supposed that no one who had not visited the coast could possibly have had the technical knowledge of the various ports of Madagascar described so faithfully by Drury; but if any one will take the trouble to examine Thornton's "English Pilot," published in 1703, he will find in the third book a minute description of the sea-coast, capes, headlands, and ports of Madagascar, from which it would be easy enough to fill in pages of description such as Drury gives in his after-voyage at the end of the book.

Now it seems certain that there was such a person as Robert Drury, and that he was wrecked with Mr. Benbow in the *Degrave;* but there are many indications that his subsequent history would not bear a searching cross-examination. At the end of his wanderings (whether he had been leading the ignominious life he describes or not) he is found confessedly in the company of pirates, and there is too much reason to believe that a large portion of his career in Madagascar was in the society of these men, and that in reality, like his comrade, Nicholas Dove, who admittedly joined the pirates; he was one of the piratical fraternity.

The fact that he took his second voyage with Captain White, who went to Mascareigne (Ile Bourbon) in 1718–19, and, according to Drury's account, died and was buried there, accords strangely with the *document historique* of M. Maillard, who relates that a certain pirate, Captain White, who had put into port that same year, died and was buried in Bourbon. Until that date, the Bourbonnais inhabitants of Mascareigne had been on most friendly terms with the British and Dutch *forbans* who frequented Madagascar, and sold slaves to the French; but at this period the British East India Company had complained to the English Government, who exercised some pressure to induce the French colony to drop all intercourse with the pirates.

As there seems not the slightest doubt that the well-known pirate, White, who died at Bourbon was the same captain with whom Drury sailed, it at once stamps Drury as having been himself one of the pirates, when his trumped-up story about his enforced slavery in the interior of Madagascar would suffice to account for his doings during the fifteen years he was "pyrating" on the coast along with Captains England, Burgess, Plantain, and others who frequented St. Mary's Island and Masselage.

Defoe was given to picking up stories from prisoners and others like Captain Avery, and his ingenious brain could easily evolve a connected, plausible story out of the scattered yarns told by an old pirate. Indeed it must be remembered that piracy was not unfashionable in those days of the first Georges. Drury's association with the pirates was during Queen Anne's reign, and Captain Kidd's association with my Lords of the Admiralty but a few years before gives to us a slight inkling of the ways that were dark in high places.

Dr. Campbell, in his Life of Admiral Benbow, when referring to the hanging of the pirate, Captain Green, and his worthy mate, Mr. Mather, laments their untimely fate, and his sympathy, like that of the then Duke of Argyll, was evidently on the side of the criminals who were executed.

An amnesty was granted to the pirates who consented to surrender and become colonists in Bourbon in the year 1721, but this, says M. Maillard, in his history of Bourbon, did not

prevent the pirates from attacking ships even in the roadstead at St. Denis. The celebrated author of "Paul and Virginia," the very capable engineer, M. Bernadin de St. Pierre, who visited Bourbon on his way back from Mauritius in 1770, relates that the French India Company had also a factory at St. Denis, and a governor who lived with them (the pirates) in great circumspection. The Viceroy of Goa, the Comte d'Ericeira, came (on April 8, 1721) to anchor in the road of St. Denis, and was to dine with the Governor, M. Desforges Boucher. He had scarcely set his foot on shore before a pirate ship of fifty guns anchored alongside his vessel and took her. The pirate captain landed forthwith, and demanded to dine at the Governor's. He seated himself at table between him and the Portuguese Viceroy, to whom he declared that he was his prisoner. Wine and good cheer having put the Pirate in good humour, Mons. Desforges Boucher asked him at how much he rated the Viceroy's ransom. "I must have a thousand dollars," said the Pirate. "That is far too little," said the astute M. Boucher to the Pirate, Oliver Levasseur (surnamed *la Buze*, of Calais), "for a brave freebooter like yourself to accept from a grand lord like the Viceroy. Ask something handsome, or ask nothing." "Well said," cried the Corsair, "I shall ask nothing; the Viceroy is free to go." "The Viceroy," says St. Pierre, "re-embarked instantly, and set sail, happy at having escaped on such good terms." Unfortunately the records spoil St. Pierre's good story; for it is related that the crew of the Portuguese ship were landed, as the ransom of two thousand dollars was not forthcoming, and that Capitaine Oliver Levasseur took off the ship, for which act of piracy he was hung subsequently on July 17, 1730, at Bourbon, having failed to get himself included in the amnesty. Not long before St. Pierre visited the island the last of these pirates, named Adam, had there died, aged 104 years.

Several of these pirates of St. Marie in Madagascar were amnestied in Bourbon by the Governors Beauvollier and Boucher, among whom were the pirates Congdon and Clayton with their crews. Among the other pirates are to be found the names of Taylor, England, Plantain, etc., and when we consider that the crew of the *Dragon*, Congdon's ship,

numbered 135 *forbans* of all nations, it is not difficult to understand that there was a considerable sprinkling of vagabond Europeans along all the coasts of Madagascar at this period. It was with some of these pirates that Robert Drury was undoubtedly mixed up; and, indeed, it is difficult to see how he could have done otherwise, under the circumstances, than join one or other of the numerous bands of adventurers which then frequented the coasts. Privateers, slavers, and pirates were interchangeable terms in those parts.

It was owing to the Sakalava tribes of the west coast obtaining fire-arms and ammunition that they were able to keep the Amboa Lambo in subjection, for it is worthy of notice that previously these progenitors of the Hovas had been superior to the Sakalava, as they again became when they were able to obtain arms and ammunition from the Europeans and turn the tables on the Sakalava. (*Vide* "The Sakalava; their Origin, Conquests, and Subjugation." By the Rev. T. Sibree, *Antananarivo Annual*, 1878.)

It is beyond the scope of an introduction like the present to make a minute analysis of what is true and what is false in Drury's story as told by his Editor. Sufficient to say, that it is a most charming and interesting romance, and as true as most history that is written of places and times nearer to our own country and the present date. Few travellers' tales will bear close cross-examination, unless an actual diary, with dates, a map of route, and chapter and verse, with witnesses and documentary evidence are forthcoming.

To all intents and purposes the actors in Drury's story are real people, if not under their own names. It is something after all to read the real yarn of a man who, if not a pirate, had been uncommonly intimate with them, who frequented the coasts of Madagascar in the eighteenth century, when the people were very much like what they are now, and who, if he never really visited the interior, must have come in contact with many barbarian tribes who brought down their cattle from the interior and exchanged them for the dollars, buccaneers' guns, powder, shot, and sham trinkets of the pirates and their brother-slavers, who tempted these wretched savages to

steal and sell their neighbours, excited them to war with one another, and shipped off the black labourers to the plantations of the West Indies, to the Isle of France, and to Bourbon.

If it is possible to believe that Robert Drury ever suffered slavery * and licked the feet of his masters, it is also possible

* The Rev. P. Geo. Peake, of the London Missionary Society, writes:—"With regard to the Malagasy holding a white boy in slavery I think you allow it was quite possible." [No! Drury was a youth over fifteen years of age and old enough to be entrusted with the disposal of goods to a considerable amount. When he was taken on board Captain Mackett's ship, he was thirty years of age, and then was so lost to all our ideas of British manliness that he licked the feet of his former master.—S. P. O.] "Had he been a full grown man the case would have been otherwise. He would have been unmanageable. Even with adult male native captives, if they cannot dispose of them at once, they are slain, but youths, women, and children are retained for a favourable disposal, or they are 'broken in' for personal service. What strikes me as so remarkable in Drury's narrative is the *detail* of slave life and of the life of the ordinary Bourgeois, and I cannot see how any but one closely identified with native life, as Drury says he was, could give that detail. He represents native life more closely than any writer on the Malagasy that I know, either of early or modern date. You seem to take it as incredible that slaves should lick their masters' feet. The true original custom was not to lick the feet only, but the soles of the feet. The practice, however, has given way to an expression of willingness to do the act, or cringing into the attitude of doing it. It is still done, in fact, especially when one is craving for pardon, when the party appealed to will permit the degrading act. The native word for submission is '*milelalapadia*,' to lick the sole of the foot, which is undoubtedly derived from the custom. As an instance of the custom, I may mention that your friend, the Rev. J. Richardson, caught a thief, redhanded, some time since, when the man besought him eagerly for forgiveness, and crawled to Mr. Richardson's feet to lick his boots, at which, of course, he was more inclined to kick the man than allow him to do it. Another instance is the case of a high official. This person had given great offence to his chief, and by way of appeasing his anger went down on all fours and crawled to lick the feet of his superior." Mr. Peake can thus quote only one instance of the actual practice of the "*milelalapadia*" during his long experience in Madagascar, and the Rev. W. Cousins, Secretary of the London Missionary Society, has furnished me with another solitary

to believe that the same man who gave his servant to the slaver-captain, and afterwards joined in slaving and pirating, was also quite capable of inventing untruths; and, at all events, his Editor was not incapable of weaving therefrom a most fascinating and romantic narrative.

S. PASFIELD OLIVER,
CAPT., *Late Royal Artillery*,

ANGLESEY, GOSPORT,
February 1, 1890.

instance which he witnessed in the island. In none of the many accounts of the Sakalava or other tribes by all sorts of travellers do I find any mention of this practice being common, or indeed noticed. Yet it is admitted that the mode of life and habits of the tribes which have not yet come in contact with civilization are unchanged.

The illustrations, taken from Gueudeville's *Atlas Historique*, published in 1719, are remarkable as showing how, at that date (the time when Drury left Madagascar), the knowledge of Madagascar and its inhabitants had not progressed beyond that derived from Flacourt and his contemporaries. For these quaint cuts are evidently reduced and adapted from Dapper's volume on Africa, mentioned in the above text, from which Drury's editor and publisher derived the map of which a reduced fac-simile is now given. The photographs, from which the figures of the Malagasy natives are taken, have been most courteously supplied by Samuel Procter, Esq., of the East India Avenue, E.C., the Consul of Her Majesty Ranavalona III. in London.

THIS is to Certify, That Robert Drury, Fifteen Years a Slave in Madagascar, now living in London, was redeem'd from thence and brought into England, his Native Country, by Myself. I esteem him an honest, industrious Man, of good Reputation, and do firmly believe that the Account he gives of his Strange and Surprising Adventures is Genuine and Authentick.

Wm. MACKETT.

May 7, 1728.

PREFACE.

AT the first Appearance of this Treatise, I make no Doubt of its being taken for such another Romance as "Robinson Crusoe"; but whoever expects to find here the fine Inventions of a prolific Brain will be deceived; for so far as every Body concerned in the Publication knows, it is nothing else but a plain, honest Narrative of Matter of Fact. The Original was wrote by Robert Drury, which consisting of eight Quires in Folio, each of near an hundred Pages, it was necessary to contract it, and put it in a more agreeable Method: But he constantly attended the Transcriber, and also the Printer, so that the utmost Care has been taken to be well informed of every dubious, strange, and intricate Circumstance. And as to the large Proportion of Credit which we give him, it will be found not to arise from an implicit Faith, for every Thing he might think proper to relate; but from the strong Proof the Matters related receive by concurring Testimony, and the Nature of the Thing.

I at first wondered how Capt. Macket ventured to say in his Certificate, "That he believed the Account he gave of his surprising Adventures to be true." But inquiring into the Character of that Gentleman, I found him to be a Person of the highest Reputation for Integrity and Honour; to which if we add, his known Solidity and good Sense, his Fortune, and Station of

Life; there is no Room left to suppose he would countenance any trifling Fables or Impositions; yet this did not fully satisfy me, till diligently perusing the History, we find at Yong-Owl, where he took the Author on Board, William Purser was their Linguist for several Months, and he speaking English perfectly, 'tis not doubted but this Gentleman, as well as the Captains of the other Ships, informed themselves by his Means all they could of so singular and remarkable a Case. Now 'tis to be observed that this William Purser was a Native of Feraingher, knew Mr. Drury there, and was an Eye-Witness to his carrying the Elodge *in their Expedition to Anterndroea, and to several other most doubtful Circumstances here related, and his Adventures for several Years together.*

After this, the Captain went to Munnongaro, alias *Massalege, where he saw Nich. Dove, one of the Boys shipwrecked in the* Degrave, *and saved in the Massacre in Anterndroea; so that it was in the Captain's Power to come at more than two Thirds of what is contained in this History, besides the opportunity of conversing with him in their long Voyage to the West Indies, and after to England. The second Voyage which Drury made was also in Capt. Macket's Service, though not in the Ship commanded by himself; yet he was a principal Proprietor in the Ship and Cargo commanded by Capt. White, as well as of his own and some others; the Captain also confirmed this to me in Conversation, adding "That he had seen others in his last Voyage there, as well Natives who spake English and knew Drury, as some who were saved by Flight with Capt. Drummond, with this material Particular, That this very Captain Drummond was the Man whom Drury supposes him to be; and that he was killed at Tullea, seven Leagues to the Northward of Augustine Bay, by one Lewes, a Jamaica Negro." This Gentleman continued his friendship for Drury, even to be his Patron to this Day, which he would not have done, had he not known him to be a Person of Innocence and Probity, though his own well-known Life and Conversation does sufficiently demonstrate this; so that on the whole, I think, we have no Reason to doubt his Veracity in any material Circumstance.*

The Account here given of the Religion of these People, may be thought by some to be invented by the Transcriber to serve an

End, or Inclination of his own; but so far is this from being the Case, that the most-to-be-suspected Part of the Account of this Religion is Fact, as related by Drury; and particularly the remarkable Conference with Dedan Murnanzack, his ridiculing of Adam's Rib, God's talking with Men, making the World in six Days, and resting the seventh, his taking these Things for childish Notions of Drury's, and more especially saying and repeating they were old Women's Stories, are no other than this Prince's own Words, and were more strongly confirmed with Additions of the same Nature, on strictly examining and interrogating the Author; whose Character and Circumstances are also to be considered, as that he was but 14 Years of Age when he embarked on this unfortunate Voyage, his being educated at a Grammar School, and in the Religion of the Established Church; that ever since he came home he has firmly adhered to the same, even to Bigotry; so that it would be a Weakness to imagine he was able or willing to invent any such Thing, which might favour Free thinking, or Natural Religion, in Opposition to Revealed; since they were Matters he scarce ever troubled himself to enquire after. And in all those Places where Religion is touched on, or the Original of Government, the Transcriber is only answerable for putting some Reflections in the Author's Mouth, which, as it is the only Artifice here used, he makes no Scruple to own, and confess that he could not pass such remarkable and agreeable topics without making proper Applications, and taking useful Instructions from them; yet the Love of these Subjects has not induced the Transcriber to alter any Facts, or add any Fiction of his own; Mr. Drury must answer for every Occurrence, the Character of every person, his Conversation or Business with them.

There are Authors, who pretend to say the Religion of these People is Mahometanism; from what they drew this Conclusion, or where they had their Information is unknown to me; since their Sacrifices, Antipathy to Revelation, and the Only Place where a Moorish Ship, who are Mahometans come, Swine's Flesh is eaten; obviously show there can be nothing in more direct Opposition to it: There is no one Circumstance like it except Circumcision, and that is well known by those learned in ancient History, to have been common to some Eastern Nations, even

before the Jews had it; and where there is no Reason to think the Name of the Jews was ever heard. (For they were an inconsiderable People, confined by their own Laws to themselves, unskilled in Arts and Sciences, and useless to the World.) And of this there is more Proof than what Herodotus says, as well as from the Reason of the Thing. . . .

But I am ready to suspect, we shall have more Reason presently to think, the Jews derived a great deal from them, instead of they from the Jews; that their Religion is more ancient, is evident from several obvious Reasons. First, By their regarding Dreams, and divining by them, which, so early as the Mosaical Law, the Children of Israel were warned against. 2ndly, These People shave their Hair all off in mourning for the Dead: This Moses expressly commands the Israelites not to do. And the Jews do still superstitiously observe This, and suffer their Hair to grow in their Mourning. I was going to quote two or three Texts in Numbers, Deuteronomy, &c., but on Consideration find it would be endless and unnecessary; for from almost the Beginning of Genesis, through the Pentateuch and all other the Narrative, as well as perceptive Part of the Old Testament are full of Instances of this Nature. 3rdly, Moses commanded none but Males to be sacrificed; on the contrary, these sacrifice Cows for the most Part. The Sacrifices here are not accompanied with many Ceremonies which it is plain were added afterwards. On this Island they are only Feasts with the Addition of a very little Superstition. They have no burnt Offerings; but near their Sepulchres, which with Gums burnt likewise, may only arise from a Defence against cadaverous Scents. 4thly, But the most remarkable Instance of all is, that the Owley, which these Madagascar People use to divine by, and procure extraordinary Dreams with, is evidently the Ephod and Teraphim, which the Levites used, who lived in Micah's House, see Judges 17. And which the Israelites could never be wholly brought off from, though contrary to their Law; for it was against the Command, that Abimelech, the Priest, consulted an Ephod for David.

I am very sensible that some have taken these Teraphim for Images like a Man; and there is a show of Reason in it from Michal, Saul's Daughter's putting One in David's Bed to deceive

her Father's Messengers while he escaped; though I am rather inclined to think it alludes to some Divination by the Teraphim which she used in his Behalf; for Teraphim is the plural Number, therefore could not signify only one Image: Neither could the gods which Rachel stole from her Father Laban, be one god as big as a Man; for she sat on them, and hid them. The Word is here in the Original, Teraphim, though translated gods: Then in Hosea, c. iii. v. 4. *an Image, an Ephod and Teraphim are all mentioned in one Verse, plainly showing, that they are distinct Things. It is further to be remarked, that by this Teraphim they invoked the Dead, which is exactly the same as these People do by the Owley, always invoking the Spirits of their Forefathers, which is expressly forbid to the Israelites, and often sharply inveighed against by the Prophets. Those, who have any Pleasure in Reading the Superstitions of the Jewish Cabbalists, may find a great deal of this Kind of Divination by Ephod and Teraphim; and that these Spirits are Messengers, who go in the Night to God, and bring back Messages.*

This is exactly the very Notion these People have of their Owleys: If there should be any Reason to suppose an Image was meant by this Teraphim, it would not much alter the Case; for after the Egyptians, and other Nations improved in Sculpture, as well as in other Arts, they might come to carving it into an Image; but this Owley is plainly the Original; we find Ephod and Teraphim joined together in several Places of Scriptures; now an Ephod is well known to be a little Linen Garment, and this Owley being fixed to a Swash, finely adorned, for a Man to wear, is evidently the same as Ephod and Teraphim; and whether the High-Priest's fine Ephod, and Breast-plate, with Urim and Thummim was not an Improvement from this Original, is no absurd Question, or rather no Question at all; for 'tis evident it was for the same Uses; (viz.) to wear, and divine by.

Here we may see the original of the Notion of familiar Spirits, which has been still further improved by the Chimeras of Witchcraft, Sorcery, and the like; all which have no other Foundation than on the Notion of the Spirits, which these People say attend their Owleys, as Messengers to God, and arises from Men's dreaming often naturally, and sometimes significantly (at least, most are apt to think so;) and this is no more than a Super-

stitious Endeavour to do it profitably for Advice, and Foreknowledge in Emergencies.

That these People had not their Religion from any polite or learned Nation, is plain by their retaining no Notion, or Memory of Letters; nor their having a Horse amongst them, or so necessary a Machine as a Wheel of any kind, either for Carriage, or other Use, which could never have been forgot, had they ever had it. That these Madagascar People came first from Africa is certain, by their Colour; and, perhaps, from the Abyssines, or even from Egypt. The Virzimbers, indeed, by their woolly Heads, must come from the more Southern Part of Africa; Capt. Macket says, Deaan Toak-Offu told him they had a Tradition of their Coming on the Island many Ages ago in large Canoes: But let them come from where they will, it is evident that their Religion is the most ancient in the known World, and not much removed from pure natural Religion; and whether the Egyptians and the Canaanites had their Religion from them, or that they are Egyptians originally, it had its Rise long before the Children of Israel were in Bondage; for Egypt was then a very polite Country; and also to be remembered, that they were not Idolaters any more than their Neighbours before Abraham's Time. It is worth observing, that Melchizedech was a King, and called the Priest of the Most High God, a Phrase which exactly corresponds to Deaan Unghorray, or the Highest God; as does also this Custom of the Madagascar Kings, or Lords, who perform themselves all the religious Offices, where the Public is concerned.

I can but just touch on these Things, yet these Hints, though hasty and undigested, may open a Door to such a Discovery of the Original of practical Religion as well revealed as natural, as is little expected. We have already exceeded the Number of Sheets designed for this Book, and too long delayed the Publication; so that on no Account can I at present examine Authors proper to be consulted; but am obliged, unwillingly to leave this agreeable Enquiry; yet not without Thoughts of reassuming it: A Gentleman of undoubted Integrity and good Sense, having given me Hopes of some curious Remarks he has made in the most Unknown Parts of Africa, up in several Parts of the Country, at a Distance from the Sea: Where the People have

not been corrupted by Europeans, he has found them to be Innocent, Humane, and Moral; as he also confirmed the Account our Author has given of These.

But as much haste as I am in, I must not pass over the Observation, That Men in the State of Nature, and considering God as the Author of the Universe, form no other Notions of him, but what are consistent with Justice, Wisdom, and Goodness: They see him to have perfectly finished his Work, and that he wants no Alterations and Amendments, nor repents of his Actions, as some would pretend, as if he did Things like weak, rash Mortals inadvertently; much less can they bear to hear of the worst of Passions attributed to the perfect divine Being, such as Anger, Revenge, and Jealousy: God has given Men the Sense of tasting, to judge what Food is proper for the Support of Life; and as he has formed them fit for Society, so he has given them Perception, and Reason to judge what will conduce most to their Peace and Happiness in social Communities; and we need look no further for the Original of moral, and Politic Laws, than to the most simple, and natural Sensations; (for I shall not call them Ideas) of Pleasure and Pain.

If we consider Mankind in his true natural State, we shall not see him as the Hobbists would ridiculously insinuate, who imagine only Men of the Male-kind fighting with one another; on the Contrary, we find Mankind Male and Female, and the most ardent Appetites will then plainly appear to be a Fondness for their Women, and a Tenderness for their Offspring, and this is even common to them with some Brutes; and therefore the true State of Nature: From hence arise benign Dispositions, Softness of Temper and Friendships, these being more pleasant and safe than Quarrelling and Fighting; they natural improve and prosecute them, taking Care not to be disturbed in their enjoyments. In this natural unsophisticated View of the Human Species, we shall find it to be impossible for forty Families to subsist together without some Compact or Agreement to punish, or expel Adulterers, Murderers, and Thieves, even for the Space of one Year (I had like to have said not one Quarter of the Time; but that it would have come too near twice forty Days.) The Respect due from Children to Parents is taught them early by those Parents, and grows up with them; besides the Gratitude naturally

arising to those who have fed and protected them when they were helpless Infants; so that it is no wonder to find a Law here against cursing of Parents. The Notion of the Being of One supreme Author of Nature, arises from natural Reflections on the visible Harmony and Uniformity of the Universe, and seeing Men and Things did not produce themselves. The Reverence due to this Stupendous Being, is only a pious and rightly turned Amazement, Dread, and Respect; so that it is as little wonderful as any Thing else that we find here, they swear not profanely. The Division of the Month arises from the Moon, and the full Moon divides it naturally in half; the other Division into Weeks or Quarters is a very small, if any Improvement; as to a Sabbath, these People have no Notion, the Day they allow their Slaves for themselves is not Weekly, but at Random, according to the Necessity of the Case, or Humanity of the Master: And why may not the Seventh have been allowed to the Israelites, when Slaves to the Egyptians?

It is with the most solemn Delight I consider the Devotion of these People, who seek God on every Occasion, for his Assistance in Necessity, and with Piety, and Gratitude return Thanks for Benefits; yet have they neither Temple, Tabernacle, Groves, or any other Places of Worship, neither Festival or any Set-Day, or Times, nor Priests to do it for them. The Umossees or Prophets indeed, direct the making their Owley of particular Roots, or Woods, having, as they tell them, Magical Properties agreeing to the Spirits; and also they must be made at proper Times; These have introduced some trifling Superstitions; such as arise from the weaknesses of human Nature, not the Vices of designing, tyrannical Priests; but they never yet dared to break in upon the great and glorious Attributes of Wisdom, Perfection, and Goodness in the most high God, much less have they presumed to affront the Reason of Mankind, and interrupt their Happiness by so dangerous an Example, as predicating Immorality, and Passions of the supreme Author of our Being; a Consideration worthy the Regard of some People, to lead them to look into themselves, and see if in introducing their artificial Systems of Religion, they have not dishonoured God as much as Man can do, and corrupted Mankind.

Let none think this Account of their Religion is taken only on

Mr. Drury's Credit, for the Island is of late much frequented; and as many People as have been there might be brought to prove as much as is necessary to justify the foregoing Observations, (viz.) The Morals of the People, their Circumcision, Sacrificing, and Use of these Owleys; also on the Coast of Guinea, for many hundred Leagues, they have such a like Machine called there Fetiss, and use it in Religious Offices, as I also have seen, though I had no Opportunity to examine enough into it: They are also, where Europeans, or Mahometans have not corrupted them, Innocent, Moral, and Humane.

NOTE.—The preface to the mutilated edition of 1750 is considerably abbreviated and altered. The concluding portion is paraphrased and *improved* (!) upon as follows (Archbishop Tillotson's twelve volumes of sermons were published in 1742-43):—

There are two Things in this History highly worthy of Observation: One is, that there is a Law among them against cursing a Man's Parents. What a Reproach is this to Countries called Christian, where there is no Law or Punishment against even those, who have the Impudence and Impiety not only of cursing others, but their own Parents. The other is, That such is their Regard and Reverence to the most High God, that they swear not profanely: But such is the Profaneness of even our Christian Nation, that a "Man can hardly pass the Streets" (as Archbishop Tillotson observes) "without having his Ears grated, and pierced with horrid, and blasphemous Oaths, and Curses, as are enough, if we were guilty of no other Sin, to sink a Nation." These give Reputation to the general Character of this People, That where the Europeans, or Mahometans, have not corrupted them, they are very innocent, moral, and courteous; and more so, with Shame be it spoken, than most Nations, who have all the Advantages of a liberal and Christian Education.

There is yet one Observation more, which, we hope, will not be thought improper here; which is, That our Author's many Deliverances are glorious and wonderful Displays of the Goodness and Power of divine Providence, and give him, no doubt, an awakening Sense of his obstinate Disobedience to the Will and

Intreatics of his tender Parents and Friends; who so much and often pressed him to lay aside those wilful Resolutions of his first Voyage to the East Indies; wherein we may see the Marks both of divine Displeasure and Goodness, the first in his Ship-wreck and Slavery; the other in his Delivery or Release from thence. All which may serve as a Lesson to the Youth of future Generations to beware, lest by their Disobedience and obstinate forcing themselves from the Care of their Parents, or Friends, they bring upon themselves those Miseries and Misfortunes, which occasion a too late Repentance.

MADAGASCAR:

OR,

ROBERT DRURY'S JOURNAL

During Fifteen Years' Captivity on that Island.

MY design in the ensuing history is to give a plain and honest narrative of matters of fact; I shall not, therefore, make use of any artful inventions or borrowed phrases to lengthen or embellish it; nor shall I offer any other reflections than what naturally occurred from my many uncommon and surprising adventures.

And, I hope, it will not be improper to acquaint my readers that I was not fourteen years of age when these miseries and misfortunes first befell me; so that my youth, as well as ignorance of the Madagascar language, rendered me incapable of making those many curious observations which one of a riper age and better judgment (freed from slavery) might have done with less difficulty and to much greater advantage. For I, Robert Drury, was born on the 24th of July, in the year 1687, in Crutched Friars, London, where my father then lived, but soon after removed to the Old Jewry, near Cheapside, where

he was well known and esteemed for keeping that noted house called "The King's Head," or otherwise distinguished by the name of the "Beefsteak House"; and to which there was all my father's time a great resort of merchants and gentlemen of the best rank and character.

Notwithstanding all the education my father bestowed on me, I could not be brought to think of any art, science, trade, business, or profession of any kind whatsoever but going to sea; and as soon as I was capable of answering any questions propounded to me concerning what business or profession my genius led me to, I discovered no inclination to anything but the sea. And I well remember that, from eleven years of age, my mind had taken such an unhappy bent this way that it grew with my stature, and at length became an obstinate resolution; and not all the tender insinuations of my dear and indulgent mother, though she once entreated me on her knees, nor the persuasions of my tender father and other friends, could make any impression on me.

When they found their endeavours were in vain, they then tried another method, and, by a seeming compliance with my desire, did propose, and would have procured, a short voyage for me, hoping that the dangers I should be liable to and the hardships I should see others suffer, would terrify me from persisting in that course of life. But such was my unhappy obstinacy, that nothing would serve me but what was for my ruin, and Providence herein justly punished my disobedience by granting me the foolish choice I had wickedly made in direct opposition to my duty and the earnest entreaties of my friends. Thus did this perverseness of mind bring along with it its own pains and punishment. Nothing but an East India voyage would serve my turn, for no other reason that I know of but because I had a cousin at Bengal, whose name was John Steel, in the New East India Company's Service—it being before the Companies were united.

My father showed his care and tenderness for me by his manner of fitting me out, plentifully supplying me with the usual extraordinary provisions and all other necessaries for the voyage; besides these, I had a cargo to the value of a hundred pounds, which was a very sufficient one for a boy of

my age. I went as a passenger, well recommended to Captain William Younge. My passage and freight of cargo were agreed for, and we embarked.

The ship which Captain Younge commanded in this unfortunate voyage was the *Degrave*, of 700 tons burthen, and mounted 52 guns. I am not going to give an account of any of the common occurrences of the voyage, or to take notice of more than two or three extraordinary accidents, and of what only is necessary to lead to my purpose, which is the history of our fate on Madagascar in our return homeward, together with my own miseries and variety of fortune during fifteen years' space in that scarce known though large country.

We passed through the Downs on Feb. 19, 1701, when Admiral Bembo* (whose son, Mr. John Bembo, was fourth mate of our ship) lay there with the squadron of ships under his command bound to the West Indies; and we arrived at Fort St. George in the East Indies in three months and twenty days from the Downs, having stopped in our passage one week at the Canaries, and came to an anchor there in the evening.

We had on board Monsieur Lapie, a jeweller, and his son, who went designedly to settle there; and one would have thought, being so near the end of his voyage, he had great reason to hope, or rather to be assured, he had obtained his desire, the ship being safe at anchor in sight of the place, and within half a dozen miles. But see how Providence disappoints us and interrupts our designs! and what an adverse and merciless fate directed and accompanied this unhappy ship and all concerned in it!

The barge was hoisted out the next morning in order to put these unfortunate people on shore; we rode about two leagues off. They put off, and we did not expect their return till the next day; but about eight o'clock at night a voice was heard hailing the ship. It surprised our people, but some of them soon knew it to be the voice of Joseph Chamberlain, who was one of the barge's crew. They hoisted out the pinnace, and rowing towards the voice, found him swimming on an oar, who

* This is confirmed in Dr. John Campbell's "Lives of the British Admirals," 1779.

told us that as soon as they came to the bar a great sea struck them on the larboard side, and upset her. He could see nothing of what became of the rest of the company, and supposed they were all drowned: for the current set to seaward, but he, being a good swimmer, and with the help of one of the boat's oars which he happened on, made shift to fetch within call of the ship. We immediately hung a light on the topmast head to guide others, if, happily, any had been like him alive and swimming; but no more of them were ever seen or heard of. There perished by this disaster Mr. John Lapie, his son, and their cook, the coxswain and nine of the boat's crew. They had also with them very considerable effects in goods, silver, &c., to some thousand pounds value.

Two days after we weighed anchor, and sailed to Maslapatan, where we stayed a month, and from thence to Bengal. My cousin hearing I was arrived, came on board to see me, and to take me and my effects on shore with him; but my father had a more prudent regard to my welfare than I could be capable of at those years, for my cousin being only a pilot, my father had desired Captain Younge to inform himself of his circumstances, fortune, and reputation, and if he found him not of sufficient ability or honesty to be entrusted with me and my effects, that he should not let me go on shore to him.

The captain performed the trust my father committed to him very honourably, and would not let me go with my kinsman; but took my cargo and disposed of it himself, and bought me in return the commodities of the country, and would have brought me back again according to his contract with my father, had Providence permitted him. My cousin soon after our arrival died, and we had a great mortality amongst our ship's crew, for during our stay here, which was nine months, we buried above forty of our people. The chief mate was the first of note, and about a month after him Captain Younge himself died of a fever, happy at least in this, that he died in peace, and lived not to bear his part in the many miseries which his son and we underwent afterwards; for this son being second mate, and the chief mate being already dead, and now the captain his father, he became captain of course, so that there was still a Captain Younge.

The only good which I got at Bengal, and which proved of any advantage to me afterwards, was that I here learnt to swim, which has two or three times since saved my life and liberty; and I attained to be so great a proficient in swimming by the help of good companions, that it was a common practice for half a dozen of us to tie a rupee apiece (which is about the value of 2s. 6d. English) in a handkerchief about our middles, and swim four or five miles up or down the river, and when we came on shore the Gentees or Moors would lend us clothes to put on while we stayed. Thus we used to sit and regale ourselves for a few hours with arrack punch and a dinner, and then swim back again.

Our business being at length finished at Bengal, we sailed from thence, and had at that time about 120 hands on board, besides two women and myself, and a few other passengers. As we were going down the river our ship ran aground and stuck fast, but a very strong tide running it turned her round, and the next high-water we got off, and as we then thought without damage; but when we came to sea she proved so leaky that we were forced to keep two chain-pumps continually going. We were two months in this condition. At length we reached Mauritius,* which is an island in the latitude of 16½ South and to the eastward of Madagascar, inhabited by the Dutch, who very civilly treated and assisted us with all that was in their power. We made a tent on shore, in which we stowed a great part of our cargo, for we took out as many of our goods as we could to search for the leak, but could not find it.

Captain Boon, a pirate, had been here about two months before, he having just then plundered a very rich Moorish ship, and had taken out of her fifty Lascars (for that is the name which our English seamen call these Moorish people by). Boon left his own ship on this island, and the pirates were glad to make a small sloop of their long-boat, to get off the island with, and were therefore forced to leave the Lascars behind them. These people we took with us, thinking they

* Mauritius is in 20° S. latitude. The island was abandoned by the Dutch soon afterwards, and taken possession of by the French in 1715.

would be of use and save our hands from returning so often to the pump, they having for two months before but little rest.

We found here very good fish, turtle, goats, and some beef. We stayed about a month and then departed, shaping our course directly for the Cape of Good Hope.

The leak gained upon us more and more, and we had much ado to keep her above water. Our men were all tired and spent with continual labour, pumping and baling night and day. When by our reckoning we were 100 leagues to the southward of Madagascar, we heaved overboard several of our guns and heavy goods to lighten her. The captain was for keeping on his course to the Cape, but the ship's company were all against it, being of opinion that they could not make her swim long enough, judging themselves at that time about 600 leagues from it and but 100 from Madagascar, which was the nearest land.

With much difficulty they at length prevailed with the captain to put back to Madagascar. The wind favouring us, the third day, in the morning, they sent me and the captain's boy up to the masthead to look out for land, since they could spare nobody else. In such extremity of life and death, my being a passenger was not considered, and accordingly I went up, and sat there two hours and a half before I spied anything like land; and when I first saw it I told my companion, but not being sure would not call out, for the case was of such consequence that there was no trifling nor amusing them with vain hopes. However, at length I plainly discovered a white cliff and a smoke at a distance from the cliff. I then cried out, "Land! land!"

Several then ran up the shrouds, and even the captain himself, to see it. One amongst them knew the land, and said it was Port Dauphine, and that the king of that part of the island was at enmity with all white men, and treated all the Europeans he met with very barbarously, the reason of which and a short history of King Samuel * (for that was his name), I shall have occasion hereafter to mention. This information

* The king's name, writes Mr. Noble in 1756, was Tom Similo, according to the French pronunciation, and, by both his and his sister's account, they were the children of an English pirate.

put us into the utmost confusion and despair, and was indeed our utter ruin. The man who informed us was right, to the best of his knowledge; for they were, indeed, enemies to the Frenchmen, and had murdered all they could find on the island, in revenge for an injury some of that country had formerly done to King Samuel, but to no other white men; so that, had we put in there, we had at least have saved our lives and some of our cargo. But who can account for the infatuation of mankind when destined to their destruction! Our fate was fixed, and we were to be destroyed in the most tragical manner, and all our endeavours to save ourselves served only to prolong our misery.

Port Dauphine* we durst not put into, for fear of falling immediately into the hands of revengeful and barbarous murderers, as we then thought them. We could not get to the northward, the wind being north-east; neither was there any harbour or port to the westward, but what was a week's sail to it. The western shore is steep too.

Hereupon the captain resolved to steer along the western coast, and see if he could find any place fit to run her into, or put ashore with safety of our lives. We were at length pretty near the shore, but no place could be found, and her hold was now half full of water. The men went to the captain and asked him what he designed to do, for she could swim no longer. He went into the round-house for a minute or two, and when he came out he asked them if they desired he should run the ship on shore at all hazards, to which they all assented, and cried out, "Anything to save our lives!" Now here was a sand† which ran along for two leagues. We came within a quarter of a mile of the shore, and let go an anchor first without the breakers, and then cut down all our masts and our rigging, threw our guns and goods overboard, and tried all the means

* Port Dauphin, now known to the natives as Faradofay, is in 25° S. lat., at the south-east extremity of Madagascar.

† Along the coast near Cape St. Mary, the most southern point of Madagascar, there is a narrow strip of sandy beach of quartzose fragments. Inside of this beach are a series of sand dunes attaining a height of 450 feet. M. Grandidier has explored this neighbourhood.

we could to make her swim till we could get ourselves on shore. We had lost our long-boat and pinnace at Bengal, and had only one small boat left; we, therefore, made a raft with some planks and yards.

There were at that time some of the natives fishing, who, seeing us in distress, made a smoke on shore to guide and invite us; but we had heard such a bad character of the country that we could not tell what to expect from them, though we were informed this was another prince's dominions.

We finished the raft in the night, and in the morning sent Mr. Prat, our chief mate, and four men in the boat, with a long rope for a warp, to fasten on the land. Here a great sea constantly runs on the rocks, and before they got to the land their boat was staved in pieces; but, being pretty near, by the help of some of the negroes (natives) they saved that part of the boat to which the rope was fastened. We had two English women on board, one of them would not go on the raft, nor would the captain; but the other woman, and about forty or fifty of us went. I stripped myself of all my clothes, but took two purses of money and a silver cup, and made them fast about my middle. We hauled by the rope towards the shore, but were no sooner among the breakers than the first sea turned the raft over, and washed us off; some swam to the raft again, but were soon washed off; the woman was drowned just by me, for I could not save her. I dived under every wave, and with great difficulty got on shore, as did everybody else who were on the raft but the woman. There was such a surf run, and the sea broke so high, that we durst not venture out to return the raft, which the captain observing, ordered the cable to be cut, and let the ship drive nearer the land, where she soon beat to pieces. The captain got on shore with his father's heart in his hand, which, according to his request when dying, was put in a bottle to be brought to England, and buried at Dover. At length they all got on shore on pieces of the ship, planks, &c., except two men who were drowned, and the woman I mentioned before. The other woman escaped, though she was so full of water as well as some others, that we were forced to roll and rub them well to make them disgorge the water; we laid them also before a great fire made

for that purpose, and in time revived them. We were in all with the Lascars above one hundred and sixty.

The country began now to be alarmed, and we had already two or three hundred negroes about us, picking up pieces of silk and fine calico; the muslin they regarded not. Our goods were driven ashore in whole bales, for, what with saltpetre and other things, we reckoned there might be then left three hundred tons, notwithstanding what we threw overboard at several times before.

There was one negro brought an ox down to us, and made signs that we should kill him. We signed to them to shoot him for us, for we had saved no ammunition; which, when one of them observed, he lent us his gun ready loaded, with which one of our men shot the bullock.

It was shocking and even terrible to me to see the negroes cut the beast,* skin and flesh together, and sometimes the guts too, then toss it into the fire or ashes, as it happened, and eat it half roasted. I did not know but they would devour us so, for they seemed to me like what I had heard related of cannibals. Everything before our eyes appeared horrid and frightful and excited most dismal thoughts and dreadful expectations.

If I here discovered a little more concern than became a man, I hope my tender years, little knowledge, and less experience, will excuse me. This tragical scene made such a deep impression on me, that when any accident brings it to my mind, I start, and am shocked with the frightful remembrance. If my observations are not so many, or so just and good as they should be, they must not be looked on to come from a man, but a boy; for as I grew in years, it will appear, I grew in knowledge and courage, was capable of making more proper remarks, and also of enterprising more hazardous and dangerous things.

While the negroes were busy opening our bales and taking what they liked, I observed some of them regarded the iron they found more than all those goods which we call valuable; and took a great deal of pains to break any pieces of timber

* "The flesh of most animals is cooked with the skin and hair on which (excepting at festivals) is invariably the case with their beef" (Ellis, "Hist. of Madagascar," vol. i. p. 6).

they met with which had iron in them. I broke open my chest, and took out only one suit of clothes, leaving the rest to whomsoever had a mind to them.

We remained thus two days and nights without resolving on any one thing, and not knowing what to do. We were told Port Dauphine was but sixty miles from us, but the notion we had of there being a barbarous people prevented our going thither; but this debate was soon determined for us by the Dean (as our English sailors called him), king of that part of the country.

For next evening, about nine of the clock, we heard a man call out Ho-lo, at a great distance, like an Englishman (as he proved to be), who, being answered, came nearer, and asked who we were. We told him the crew of an English East-India ship, which proved so leaky that we were forced to run her in here, as the first land we could make, to save our lives. Hereupon he came to us, and being desired sat down with us by our fire, and told the captain that the king had sent him to tell us "We had no reason to fear anything, though we were in a strange country; and that he would come down himself the next day to see us." The captain desired him to give us what account he could of the country and the natives, and also how he came there. We all crowded about him, not so much out of curiosity to hear a novelty, as to be able to judge by his relation, what our fate was like to be. The circumstances of his story were so very remarkable, and so much concerned us, that I dare say, I can give it you almost in his own words, which were as follow:—

"I am an Englishman, born in the county of Middlesex, my parents, and everybody who should have taken care of me being dead, I went to sea very young. My first voyage was to the West Indies, but seeing much was not to be got there, I was resolved to try the East Indies, and going thither was taken by a pirate about a hundred leagues to the eastward of this island. They plundered the ship of all her rigging, ammunition, and liquor; they took me and nine men more out of her, and then let the ship go. In the time I was with them they took some rich prizes, and I seemingly joined with them,

since there was no help to prevent it. We used to resort to this island for refreshments. I was soon tired of going a-pirating, and being at anchor in Mattatan Road,* where the canoes came off as usual to sell us rice, plantains, milk, and honey, &c.—our boat could not go ashore, there is such a great sea breaks upon the strand—I took this opportunity to feign myself sick and unable to stand or walk; and sent such word to the captain (whose name I must not declare, being sworn to the contrary), desiring him to let me go on shore, hoping the land air would refresh me, to which he consented. I dressed myself, and carried as much gold and other rich things as I could stow in my pockets, but acquainted no man with my intention, because not one on board showed any inclination to leave their dangerous and villainous engagements. I stepped into the canoe with no little satisfaction, thinking myself more happy in this country, heathenish and barbarous as it is, than with my former companions. The captain sent a canoe for me, but I bade the men tell him I was not capable of going to sea any more; and he never sent again.

"I had been here about three months when Captain Drummond,† a Scotchman, in a merchant ship, came to trade about the island; three days after his arrival a pirate took him as he rode at anchor. The pirates gave Captain Drummond his own long-boat, and a few necessaries. There was one Captain Steward with Captain Drummond; him they permitted to go ashore also, and three or four hands more; it was very calm, and the sea consequently moderate, so they got safe on shore. Here was at the same time another Englishman and his wife, who came from Sancta Maria,‡ who were company for me. When my companion and I saw the long-boat come on shore, and the ship sail away, we guessed the reason, and went down to meet them, and to invite them to our cottages, which were a mile from the sea-side. My companion, by the help of his wife, was better provided to entertain them than myself. We

* Matitanana, in S. lat. 22°, on the east coast.

† This Captain Drummond had run away with the *Rising Sun*, Scot's East Indiaman in 1698-99. See *Naval History of King William III.*, by Dr. Campbell.

‡ The island of Ste. Marie, near Antongil Bay, a resort of pirates.]

could speak enough of the language of the country to deal with the natives for what we wanted, which was a great help to those who but just then arrived.

"Captain Drummond was very melancholy for the loss of his ship, and his being in such a remote and barbarous place, and therefore resolved to get if possible to St. Augustine Bay,* which is a place where ships often come to get fresh provisions and water. He asked us if we would go with him, to which we readily agreed. In a week's time we had got provisions enough, such as beef, rice, water, and firing, and made the long-boat tight. We were nine persons in all with my companion's wife and one negro.

"We sailed three or four days along the shore, and were got to the southward of Port Dauphine when the wind shifted and blowed so hard we could not carry sail; so that, in short, we drove on shore within three or four leagues of this place where we now are. We saved all our lives with our money; guns, powder, shot, &c., but the long-boat was staved in pieces. The natives, who lived near the sea, seeing us in this distress, came down to succour us, and carried us up to their town, for they found we understood a little of their language, and having also a negro with us they were not afraid, though they never saw any white men before; and they were so civil that we wanted for nothing which they could assist us with, but they soon sent up into the country to let their Dean,† or king, know of us, who sent his son and a commanding officer with fifty men to fetch us. They were all armed with guns and lances. We refused to go with them, and were as resolute as we durst be in opposing them; but they soon made themselves masters of our ammunition. Captain Drummond was for defending ourselves to the last extremity, and not deliver our arms; but it was my opinion that it was impossible to get off from them by force, because of their number; and, therefore, advised compliance, and see if we could not obtain our desires by softer means.

* St. Augustine Bay, at the mouth of the Onilahy river, on the west coast, in lat. 23° 35', on the tropic.

† "*Dean.*" The Malagasy name for chief or noble is "Andrian." All the old French accounts of the chiefs on the south coast mention them under the name of "Dian."

We told them we desired to go to Port Dauphine (St. Augustine Bay we thought too far to travel by land), but, in short, we were not at our own disposal, for they obliged us to go with them. We made it three days' travel to the principal town, where their king's residence was. When we came there and went to see him he was drinking Toake (which is made of honey and water* like mead); his sons and generals were with him; they were all very merry. He asked Captain Drummond to drink, but the captain pretended he was sick, and refused it. I was the interpreter between them; the king bade me tell him he should want for nothing which the country afforded. The captain desired I would return for answer that he wanted to be in his own country, and begged he would give us leave to go where we might get shipping. On this the king looked sternly, and said, 'Let the captain know if he does not understand when he is well I do; there are several kings on this island have white men live among them, and why shall not I, since our gods have sent you here? You shall never go as long as I live.' As soon as Captain Drummond understood this his colour rose, and looking as sternly at the king, he replied, 'Let him know that if I could have suspected this beforehand, he should never have seen my face alive; I would have sent some of their black souls to hell. It is not their gods, it's nothing but fortune and chance has put me into his power, and by fortune I may be delivered from him.' Hereupon he got up without taking his leave, and went to our cottage. I stayed long enough to tell the king what he had said, and without waiting for an answer got up and followed the captain. The king, seeing Captain Drummond go away in a passion, to appease him sent one of his generals with an ox for us to kill, and desired the captain to make himself easy; we should be well provided for, if we could eat an ox every day we should have it. The captain sent my companion's wife, whose name was Deude, with a compliment to the king, and to thank him for the care he took to provide so plentifully for our support; but withal to tell him, we did not think life worth preserving without freedom to enjoy it, and if we could not get home to our native country it would be no favour to let us live.

* "*Toaka*," Hova name for rum or spirits of any kind.

"We continued thus about a fortnight before we made any attempt to escape. We computed ourselves to be about five days' journey from Port Dauphine, whither we at length agreed to go, and to steal away by night, and got what provision we thought proper; ammunition or arms we had none, nor could get any, except that my companion had two pocket pistols, which the natives had not discovered when they plundered us. The country was woody, and we thought to conceal ourselves well enough in the woods. According to this resolution, on a moonlight night, we got out of the town undiscovered, and were soon in the woods. By daylight they missed us, and the news being carried to the king, he immediately ordered us to be sought for and pursued. They soon tracked us, for our shoes distinguished our footing from that of the barefoot natives; and, having got into our path, they came up with us just before night, and knowing we had nothing to defend ourselves, did not offer any violence to us, but told us we must go back with them to their king. Captain Druinmond told them we would not go back, when they saw our resolution and that they could not persuade us with fair words, they took hold of us. They who seized my companion, not having hold of both his hands, he had an opportunity to take out his pistol, with which he shot one of them and wounded him. They seemed enraged at this, however they did nothing to us but bind us till they had made a strict search, for fear we should have concealed more pistols; but no more being found than these of my companion's, they marched back with us to their king. When he saw us, he looked upon us with a frowning and threatening face; and he having but one eye and thin jaws, his countenance, when he frowned, seemed more terrible. He bade me tell the captain and all of them that if ever we offered to run away again he would make us repent it. As to the man who was wounded, and for the doing of which we had some fear, neither he nor anybody else said anything about it.

"This was about two months ago; since that time nothing remarkable has happened till yesterday news came of your being cast away, and the king immediately ordered me down with the message which I have delivered to you from him. My friends are guarded for fear they should make their escape and come

to you; as for me, I sweeten him and tell him I will remain with him as long as I live, and he puts some confidence in me. This, sir, is a true account of the misfortunes and miseries we are under; and which, I am afraid, will be more now our numbers are increased."

Sam having made an end of his story, which everybody listened to very attentively, we separated and went with heavy hearts to our respective quarters, which were under the bushes. It was very late, and we endeavoured to repose ourselves as well as we could; the pieces of muslin served us to spread on the ground for beds, but as for my part I slept not at all. Now my wicked obstinacy appeared to my view, and my tender mother begging me on her knees not to go to sea, gave me the most distracting torture. I could see my error now, and repent; but who could I blame but myself? Here were many poor men who had no other way to live, but I had no such necessity; I wilfully run into misery, and I had it. Tears I might and did shed enough, but could not complain of fate or providence, for my punishment was just though terrible.

As soon as daylight appeared we were all up, and most of my fellow-sufferers got no more rest than I, for the man's relation had made us give over all hopes of relief, and nothing but lamentation, distress, and despair appeared in all its dismal various forms, in every man according to their different constitutions. We could save neither arms nor ammunition, the want of which finished our destruction; for near one hundred and seventy people would have made their way through that part of the country where we wanted to travel, had we wherewithal to defend ourselves; but fate had ordained it to be as it was, which was in every respect in the worst manner it could have been. So that we had only our lives left us for no other use but to be sensible of pain, misery, and perpetual slavery, which was the best we could then expect.

About one o'clock in the afternoon the king came down with about two hundred negroes. They brought no firearms with them, for fear we should snatch them, but they were armed with lances. When we saw them coming towards us, we all stood together in a body, with our captain at the head of us, fronting

them. When they came near he called Sam, which was the man's name he sent to us, and asked him which was our captain. Being showed him he came to him and took him by the hand and said, "Salamonger,* Captain," which is a common term of salutation, like saying "Your servant, sir." The captain returned him the same answer, Sam having before told him what was proper to say to the king. He brought with him four large bullocks, six callabashes of toak, ten baskets of potatoes, and two pots of honey—these he presented to our captain, and gave us also two or three earthen pots to boil our meat and other victuals in. We immediately roasted the potatoes. He stayed two hours with us before he went to the cottage where he designed to lie that night, and asked several questions about our ship, and the manner of her being lost. He told the captain he was sorry for his misfortune and loss, though in my opinion he was glad of it; for he was, as I found afterwards, more brutish and dishonest than most of the other kings on the island, and his whole nation were clothed for many years out of the goods they saved from our wreck. He said nothing at this time to our captain of carrying us up to his residence.

The next morning he came to visit us again, and then he told us we must prepare to go along with him to his town, and there he would plentifully provide for us, and we should want for nothing the country afforded. Captain Younge bid the interpreter tell the king he returned him a thousand thanks for the civilities he had already received, and that he was not only unable to make him satisfaction, but very unwilling to put him to the further trouble and charge of maintaining so many people. The king replied that if we were as many more he should not think us a trouble or charge, for he should be sufficiently recompensed by the honour of having so many white men in his dominions.

The captain, by this last speech, perceived his whole intention, which so shocked him that he could not tell what to say to him; but after considering a little and looking earnestly at Sam he

* *Salama* = health, happiness, peace. The Oriental "*Salam*," only used on the west coast. The "*Salamanga*" is an incantation to drive away evil spirits; a ceremony in use by the Sakalava.

bade him say that we have wives, children, and relations who want us and we them; that it is impossible for us to live here always, and therefore we desire he will let us go to some port where we may meet with ships and return to our native country. The king stood a good while before he answered again, but at length he bid Sam tell us that we should stay in his country till some ships came there to trade, and then we should go home. The captain, knowing there was no port in his dominions, nor any harbour for a ship to put into, took it to be only a trick and a compliment, for we might stay for ever before a ship came there to trade. He therefore bade Sam tell him he would think of it and return him an answer to-morrow, upon this the king departed and gave us no more trouble that day.

After he was gone the captain called us all together, and in a very moving speech addressed himself to us, saying, "I am now on an equality with every man here present, my fortune as low, and my life no more to be valued; I, therefore, do not pretend to command, but to consult with you what is proper to be done in the present extremity." He further said, "I am happy in this, that though my own life and liberty are lost as well as yours, yet nothing of this misfortune is owing to me; for I would rather have kept on my course to the Cape of Good Hope, and trusted providence in a leaky ship than put in here, but you were all against it; for, in my opinion, death is much rather to be preferred to our present slavery, and what we are further threatened with. In death our miseries will have an end, but now who can tell the troubles and torments we shall yet undergo?" (At this the tears stood in his eyes.) "I desire you to consider," said he, "that we have no arms nor ammunition wherewith to defend ourselves, and I have endeavoured to persuade the king to give us a passage through his country to a seaport, but all in vain; therefore," says he, "think of it, and consult your own safety as well as you can, only agree in one mind, and I am ready to do anything you would have me. As for my life I set no value upon it; it is not now worth preserving only to try if I can serve you with it. Remember, I must return an answer to-morrow morning, and I will advise nothing nor do anything myself."

We went together and consulted, as the captain advised, and

soon agreed; for there was, indeed, not much choice to be made. The king had refused to give us leave to go to a seaport, and we had no arms to fight and to force our way if we could have found it; so we resolved to go quietly up the country with the king, where, perhaps, we should see Captain Drummond and the other people, who, being gallant and resolute men, and by this time a little acquainted with the natives, might be capable of advising us.

With this resolution we acquainted the captain, who was very well contented with it; for, indeed, he did not much care what became of himself since he had lost his ship and fortune, and despaired of ever getting off the island.

The next morning the king came to visit the captain; they saluted each other as usual and sat down together upon the sand, we standing round them. When they were seated the king bid Sam ask the captain whether he was ready to travel, for it would be best to walk in the cool of the morning and rest at noon. The captain observed that he did not ask whether he had a mind to go, as might be reasonably expected, seeing he pretended to give him time to consider of it, but peremptorily asked if he was ready to go. The captain seeing there was no help, and having our consent, it signified nothing to dispute it; so he told him we were ready to go when he pleased. At this the king seemed very well satisfied, and bid Sam tell us he would go and breakfast, and advised us to do so too, that we might be the better able to travel.

But we had little satisfaction in eating and drinking, especially now the hour was come that we must leave the seaside; and it galled us to the quick, to think how we were forced up the country at the pleasure of heathenish negroes, like a flock of sheep, without power to make terms for ourselves like men. Some cursed, and others lamented their hard fortune, nor were reflections wanting. For my part, I could not then see any reason to blame anybody; only I have since thought that our captain was young, and had not so much experience as his father, who, perhaps, would not have put to sea from Mauritius in a leaky ship, but have took the Company's cargo out, and left it there till they sent another ship for it, and saved all our lives; however it was as it pleased Fate!

The king sent, and the word was given to go. I was always ready, for I would carry nothing with me but what I brought ashore; but many of our people took pieces of silk and fine calico. We assembled together, and went where the king's tent was. We were no sooner come but he was for marching. We left the sea with heavy hearts, looking very wishfully back as long as we could discern it; and as often as we did, we could see the negroes hard at work, breaking up our bales, and enriching themselves with the plunder of our goods; for there was so much to be got, that but few went back with the king.

Our people were in very indifferent case for travelling; everybody tired with working and want of rest; many lamed with hurts received in getting on shore: some also without shoes, and most with bad ones. Then the country near the seaside and some few miles further is woody,* full of short underwood and thorny shrubs, which tore our clothes to rags, for the path was very narrow, and before this accident but little practised. The ground also sandy, so that when the sun was advanced pretty high, it scorched our feet that we were not able to walk.

About noon we came to one of their small mean villages, consisting of about eight or ten houses, or rather huts, for they were not above six or seven feet high, and eight or nine feet long, and their doors not above three or four feet high. Our people crept into these hovels to rest, and to see what they could meet with to refresh themselves. Some found honey, some milk, others beef; for the king had given us leave to take whatsoever came to hand of eatables. The inhabitants were all absent, the men down at the seaside making advantage of our wreck, and the women and children fled into the woods at our approach. We passed through several of these poor villages, but saw few or none of the people. Here we reposed ourselves till the heat of the sun was abated, making a very poor retaliation on them by robbing them of trifles, while they were enriching themselves out of our most valuable commodities. However, I observed some of our people seemed a little to gratify their revenge in it.

* The dunes here are covered, says M. Grandidier, here and there with prickly bushes, whose dull grey foliage is barely distinguishable from the soil out of which they spring.

In the cool of the afternoon we marched again, and in a little time came to a more open country and better path. The king having now got us some miles from the sea, left us, and went before to his seat, leaving us to march as we could in our own time, having before taken care that we should not want provisions, and left his (chief officer, whom though of a petty army, we shall call) general strict orders to provide whatsoever we wanted, which the country would afford.

At night we came to another of these little villages,* where we killed a bullock, and got some earthen pots to boil our meat in. The water was very dirty, they having none but what they fetched a great way out of holes and pits in the woods, and kept in calabashes or long tubs, which hold four or five gallons each. However it served our turn, for then we were not curious. We reposed ourselves as well as we could on the ground, and rose the next morning by daylight, Sam calling on us to march in the cool of the morning. We eat a breakfast of beef without any bread kind, or roots in the room of bread, and the meat full of sand; but at that time eating and drinking was the least of our care. We passed this day much after the same manner as the day before, only with a little more difficulty to those who wanted shoes, whose feet were sorely pricked and hurt in the woods.

The third day of our march we reached to our journey's end. We were forced to walk faster this day than either of the former, having more ground to travel, and less time to do it in; for we were to be at the king's town before sunset. This day I lost one of my purses, but the loss was not of any importance to me then; for it would have been of little use had I kept it. Yet in all this great concern, where my life and liberty were in such imminent danger, it was no small addition to my trouble to lose a medal which my mother had given me at our parting as a token to remember her.

The residence of this king is about fifty miles from the

* In the vicinity of these Tandroy villages alone are small plantations of cactus-like plants (*Mesembryanthemum edule*). The fruits of these and other succulent tubercles are the principal resource of the unfortunate inhabitants of this dreary region, who are destitute of water and cereals for several months of the year (*Grandidier*).

seaside; for I suppose, we might travel sixteen or seventeen miles a day. It stands in a wood, and is secured in a particular manner with trees all round it, which seem to have been planted there when very young. They grow very straight and tall, and so near together, that a small dog can't pass between them. They are also naturally armed with large strong thorns, so that there's no breaking through nor climbing over. There are but two passages, or gates, no wider than for two to go abreast, one of these to the northward and the other to the southward. The whole in compass is about a mile.

When we came near we halted, whilst Sam went to acquaint the king of our coming, who ordered us to stay till he had made himself ready to receive us; our captain too put us into form as well as he could, ordering all our baggage and things which our people brought with them to be laid down under a tamarind tree, and three or four Lascars to look after it. He soon sent for us, and we marched in order by fours. The king was sitting on a mat cross-legged in the open air, just before the door of his house, having a gun leaning on his shoulder, and a brace of pistols lying by him; his sons and kinsmen in the same manner sitting on the ground on each hand with guns and lances; his people joining them on both sides, forming together a half-moon. They, too, were most of them armed with guns and lances. There were mats spread from one end of the people to the other for us to sit on, so that when we had joined them, the whole assembly made almost a circle. We were a little concerned to see them all armed, till Sam told us it was their custom never to go from one house to another without their guns and lances.

After we were seated, the king (by Sam) bid the captain welcome, and sent for ten calabashes of toake; six he gave to our people, three to his own, and one he kept betwixt our captain and himself. He also sent for Captain Drummond, Captain Steward, and the rest of their company. Captain Younge arose to salute them, and the common civilities being over, the captains sat by each other. The king ordered a servant to pour out some toake into a clean earthen cup, which he had for himself, and drank it up without any form of compliment by drinking to anybody; but ordered some to be

poured out for our captain in another cup that was dirty, which our captain refused. The king asked the reason of it, and was told by Sam, that it was because it was dirty; so the king sent a man to wash it. The captain asked for the king's cup, but Sam informed him that neither black nor white ever drank out of his cup, not even his wives or children; and this is the general custom of the country. When I saw the servant returning with the cup washed, which our captain had refused, I took out my silver cup and presented it to him. After we had all drank out of it, the king desired to see it, and was so wonderfully delighted with it, that he begged it. But the captain told him it was none of his own, it belonged to a boy that was behind him. I called to Sam, and desired him to tell the king, that, "seeing so many people had drank out of it, I did conceive it could not be proper for his use." At this he, and his people too, laughed heartily. He desired me to stand up that he might see me; however I kept my cup this time. Night drawing on he took his leave, ordering us a bullock for our supper. He would not trust us all to lie in the town, there were but few of us lay within the gates, besides our captain, Mr. Prat, our chief mate, Mr. Bembo, our second mate, and myself. We had a hutch ordered us next to Captain Drummond and his companions; but the rest of the people lay without the gate under the trees.

After this manner we lived for a few days. I know not what particular amusements some of our people found to pass away their melancholy hours; but there occurred to me an affair of a most agreeable and surprising nature, and which many would have made a much better use than I did. "This king had a daughter, a girl, as one might guess, about thirteen or fourteen years of age, and she used to talk often to me a great while together, though I did not understand a word she said. She seemed to be very desirous I should apprehend her meaning, but she was modest, and used no unhandsome gestures to explain any loose inclinations, and no such thing came into my head; so that our conversation on my side tended to nothing, which she at length perceiving, sent Sam to me one day, to desire I would come to her nurse's house, where she was brought up, and eat something with her. I went along

with him, and when we came there, I found a mat spread on one side of the house, on which she desired us to sit; and ordered one of her slaves to boil some Guinea corn and milk, and roast some beef. She sat down over against me, and though I had no notion of love, yet I could not help observing a particular softness in her speaking to me; and when she asked Sam of our misfortunes, she showed a great deal of concern and pity, and looked at me with some uncommon pleasure, as people do at pictures which please them, and stared me almost out of countenance. I thought she was resolved to know me again, she remarked me so all over. She was wondrous courteous and obliging, and often sighed with pity at the sense she seemed to have of our miserable condition. I looked upon her to be a good-natured creature, and that curiosity more than love had made her desirous of being acquainted with a white man, which is so strange a sight in their country. We were just entering into the best part of the conversation, and our interpreter had begun at her request, to tell me the reason of her extraordinary courtesy and observation of me, when her mother came to the door, and asked her to take a walk without the gates to see the white men. I was concerned at this interruption, and she seemed much more vexed at it herself; but it would have been imprudent to have refused her mother's request; so she went with her mother, and we returned. Sam told me she had ordered him to acquaint me that she was in love with me; but charged him to say nothing of it to any other man, either white or black. I was strangely surprised at this plain declaration, and that this was the end of her coveting so much of my company. Since I came to be a man, I have wondered at the thoughts of my own stupidity, so as to put a young lady to the expense of acquainting me with her love, and exposing herself to another man. I have nothing to offer in excuse, but that being a youth not sixteen years of age, the discovery of so great a secret created in me more fear than love, lest the consequences of this affair might prove fatal to me. The same night she sent again for me, and I went accordingly, and there behaved myself with all the decency and good manners, as policy and gratitude for her civilities obliged me to. I knew she was the king's favourite,

and that he dearly loved her. I was, therefore, more fearful of disobliging her, lest she might tell her father what story she pleased and destroy me. At length I found she was afraid of her father's knowing it; so that I looked on myself to be in danger on both sides, and for this reason, when Sam told me she desired my company again the next night, I pretended myself to be very sick, and unable to go; so that this affair which might have afforded much pleasure to some others, proved to me, in my then circumstances, a matter of vexation and trouble; but two days after an end was put to our amour, if I may call it so.

Every morning we used to go in a body and visit the king; till one morning he bid Sam tell us that he had a very potent enemy to the westward, who had hitherto been too powerful for him; but since his gods had sent him some white men, he would take this opportunity once more to try his strength with our assistance; but in the meantime he must distribute us among his sons, who lived at other towns, as well for more convenient provisions for such a number of us (there not being room enough in this town) as to ease himself of a charge too great and troublesome for him alone to sustain. He also sent to me this night to beg the cup, which I did not refuse him, knowing it was in his power to take it by force. This parting was a terrible blow to us, and we returned to our cottages with heavy hearts, knowing if we could not find some way to prevent our separation, there remained for us no hopes of ever getting off the island.

Hereupon the three captains, viz., Drummond, Steward, and Younge, entered immediately into a consultation with a few only of the chief of our people, to consult what was proper to be done on this emergent occasion, and to make some attempt for our precious liberty. It was Captain Drummond, as I heard afterwards, who proposed to take the king prisoner, and by that means to make their own terms with the people. Now, Captain Drummond and some others were experienced men, and of gallant enterprising spirits; our captain had courage enough, but he was too young. However, everybody approved the proposition, and the time and manner of the execution was fixed. I was too young to be of the council, so

I will not pretend to relate what reasons were given for and against the proposal, though I was told afterwards. But that night I was wholly ignorant; I observed Captain Younge and Mr. Bembo to talk with great earnestness, but softly, and with caution. However, I slept sound, till I was waked in the morning by a great and sudden noise in the town, occasioned by the putting their plot in execution. Our people went as usual, early in the morning, to visit the king (by what mistake it came to pass that I was not called I know not), when some of them were got to the prince's house, the signal was given by one of Captain Drummond's men firing a pistol, at which the king was seized and his son at the same time.

This immediately alarmed the whole town; I started up and jumped out as I lay, without shoes, being frightened at the sudden cry and uproar. Not knowing what was the matter, and seeing the negroes running out of the town, I ran with them, till I was espied by one of our men, who called me back; and I was as much amazed as the natives to see the king, his wife, and one of his sons, with their hands tied behind them, and guarded by our people. They soon plundered the king's house, and every other place where they could find anything fit for their purpose. We happened to find about thirty small arms, some powder and shot, and some got lances. The people, as I before observed, ran out of this town, but they did it only to gather more strength, for they soon alarmed the country and returned with great numbers from all the neighbouring towns and besieged us. They fired in upon us and wounded one of our men in the groin, on which Captain Younge bid Sam tell the king if they fired any more they would immediately kill him. When the king heard their resolution, he called to his men and desired them to forbear firing, if they had a mind to save his life.

This attempt, indeed, was bold and hazardous, and some, perhaps, may think it criminal; howbeit, I shall say but little in its defence. Yet, since I have arrived to years of maturity, I cannot but reflect that if nature, even in a Christian country, will rebel against principle, what will it not do for life and liberty under heathenism!

However, at length we put ourselves in order, and marched

out of the town; six men armed marched in the front, and in the body, where the king was, six went armed before him and six behind; three before his son and three behind him, and six brought up the rear, in which were the Lascars. Captain Younge, out of pity, released the queen, and let her go whither she pleased; but she would not leave her husband.

By that time we had got about four miles on our march, the wounded man fainted, and we could not stay to make provision to carry him, but were forced to leave him by the side of a pond of water, where, as I was afterwards informed, they soon put him out of his pain by sticking their lances in almost every part of his body. About two or three miles further, we got out of the woods and found ourselves in a large open plain * where we could see all around us, and soon found that our enemies were near and numerous, threatening immediately to attack us. We faced towards them, our armed men in the front, and the king bound before them. Sam was ordered to tell him, that they did not design to hurt either him or his son, nor to carry them to their enemies' country; that our design was only to detain them as pledges for our safeguard while we passed through his dominions, and as soon as we came to the borders of Port Dauphine country we would let them go again, and give them back the arms and ammunition we took from them; but if any violence was offered to us we would sacrifice them, and this we desired him to tell his people.

Upon which he called one of his generals and bid him not be afraid to come to him, for he should receive no harm. Accordingly he left his gun and lance behind and came to us, where he was assured by us and the king of our intention; hereupon he told us there should not be a gun fired at us while we kept the king alive and used him well.

When this parley was over, we continued our march through the plain till near evening, many without shoes as well as myself, and some sick, which obliged us to take up our

* M. Grandidier traversed here a vast plain, covered only with stunted vegetation; not a hillock, not a tree was to be seen. He could not recall to mind throughout his extensive travels his having ever met with such a desolate plateau.

quarters sooner than we would have done, so that everybody was faint and glad to rest themselves. The king bid Sam to tell us that he had ordered an ox to be brought to us by-and-by. We made a round trench like a ring, in the midst of which we placed the black king and his son; our captain and some few others were appointed to guard them; our armed men were divided into four parties, as might best secure us. We had just finished our camp, when the officer who had been with us came, and three men with him, bringing a bullock. He brought some roasted meat in his hand and a horn of water for the king, so we loosed his and his son's hands that they might feed themselves. They ate a little and gave the rest to Captain Younge.

In the meantime we were busy in killing the ox; we desired the king to send some of his people into the woods for some fuel, which he readily did, and they soon brought us a sufficient quantity. But all this while we had no water, which we as much wanted as meat, and complained to the king, who told us there was none to be got near that place by some miles; that which was given him in the horn being brought from that pond where we left the wounded man, which we guessed might be about ten miles' distance. This very much disheartened us, for we were parched up with thirst, the more increased by the fatigue of our long march and the heat of the country. However, there was no help for us, and bear it we must. When the king and his son had supped, we bound their hands before them, that they might sleep as easy as they could; so we, after having cut up our bullock, and divided it amongst us, broiled and eat it, though with little satisfaction for want of water;* and when we had made as good a supper as our miserable circumstances would admit of, we also endeavoured to repose ourselves. The three captains agreed to watch by turns, and divided our people into three parties for that purpose. The king desired his wife to go home and comfort his children, particularly recommending to her care his beloved daughter. She went at his request, but wept at parting, as did also the king and his son. We who

* These coasts, says M. Grandidier, are almost entirely destitute of water, and the plateau above the dunes is not much better provided.

were not on the watch lay down, and a wretched night we had, for it was a stony ground and little grass; but our thirst increasing was the most intolerable misery of all.

By daylight we arose, which was the second day of our travel, and the better to strengthen ourselves for our journey, we eat some of the remains of our beef; but it was a miserable repast without drink. However, we put ourselves in order as the day before and went forwards. The natives, who all this while observed our motions, seeing us moving they moved too, but kept at a greater distance, and went into our camp after we had left it to see what they could find; and they did not wholly lose their labour, for many of our people were glad to leave half those India goods they brought out of the town behind them, that they might travel the better. We walked with more ease half this day than the day before, it proving cloudy weather and cool. About noon, the general, who was with us before, came with some roast meat, and a horn of water for the king and his son, and fed them, for we did not loose their hands. The general bid Sam ask the captains if they would release the king for six guns. I perceived there was a debate between them and Mr. Bembo what to do. Some thinking the six guns would be of great use to us, especially seeing we should still have the king's son. Others were of opinion that it would be safer for us to keep the king; but it was at last agreed to part with him. We told the general if they would give us six very good guns and promise not to follow us, but return back with their king, we would let him go, and that as soon as we came to the river Manderra,* which parted his dominions from those of Port Dauphine, we would release the king's son and leave with him all their arms behind us.

The general was surprised at this unexpected condescension of our people, and despatched away one of his men to the king's other sons, who were not far off with their army, to acquaint them of it; they soon sent the six guns, for in half an hour's time they returned to us with them. They made

* The river Mandrere, which separates the province of Androy, or Antandroy, from Anosy, the province in which Fort Dauphin is situate.

the more haste, fearing our minds should change. We detained them no longer in suspense than while we took the guns to pieces to see whether they were good, and finding them better than we could have expected in such a country, we released their king and sent him away with the general. He took his leave of the prince and went to his army. We were so very near as to see the ceremony of his sons meeting him at that time, who fell down and embraced his knees with great earnestness, shedding tears for joy; after they had kissed and licked his knees and legs for five or six minutes, they arose to give his head officers an opportunity of doing the same, and after them many others, all of whom expressed a most sincere and passionate affection to him in this manner, and showed excessive joy at receiving him again; they then fell to shouting, hallowing, and firing their guns to declare their great satisfaction.

We could not help stopping to see this scene, which being a little over, we marched forward, though after a poor manner, for though it continued cloudy, yet the afternoon was sultry hot, and our thirst increasing, our people began to be sensibly weaker and weaker; but the captains walked slowly on, which made our travelling something easier. We asked the prince if there was no water near, who told us there was none to be got till we came to Manderra river, which we could not reach that night. We made him our guide, though it was not easy for us to miss the way, for we had informed ourselves from the natives that the plain we were in was long, and of no great breadth in proportion to the length; but extended itself near east and west to the river. When we came to a sandy place, it being pretty near sunset, we halted and formed our camp, which was somewhat softer to lie on than our former night's. The natives, seeing us begin to encamp, they also formed theirs. They divided themselves into six parties, and so ordered the matter that they very near surrounded us, which did not a little daunt us. However, we appointed the watch as before; but, to our misfortune, here were neither meat nor water, and we almost parched to death, and to so great an extremity were we reduced that we crawled on the ground to lick the dew, and this was all the means we had to moisten our lips.

The next day, which was the third of our march, we rose early, and soon put forward as well as we could. The negroes, strictly observing our motions, were as ready as we; but we placed our armed men in the front, resolving to make a push for it if they attempted to hinder us. They divided and let us pass without molestation, and we travelled all the morning without anything remarkable, till we got to a little round hill, on which there stood a prodigious large tub, six foot high, and held, as near as might be guessed, about a hundred gallons; this was full of toake, and our people were going to drink it, when Sam came and pushed it over and spilt all the liquor, asking us if we were mad, that we could not see this was designed as a plot for our destruction: for it was set in this droughty place to tempt us to drink, with design either to poison us immediately, or so to intoxicate us, that they might rescue their prince, and murder us at their pleasure.

While we were wondering at this, the general and two or three more came towards us, and asked Sam why he spilt the toake? To which he gave him no answer, but bid him be gone about his business. The general desired to speak with the prince, and after a little talk with him, ordered Sam to acquaint Captain Younge, that if he would release the prince, they would give him three of the head-men of the country in his room. The Captain told him, if he would be one himself they would agree to it. He excused himself because of his family, which, he pretended, would be distracted for him; but he promised that his own brother, who had none, should be sent as one of the hostages.

Captain Younge, who thought they followed us for nothing but their prince, and that if we released him they would go back and leave us, told the general he was content it should be so. Hereupon he hasted immediately to the army, and acquainted the other princes with it; for the king went straight home as soon as he departed from us. We marched on, resolving to lose no time, and about an hour after the general returned with three men, and told us he had brought his brother and two more of the chiefs of their people to exchange for the prince; and as to the arms we had which belonged to their king, we might, when we had done with

them, leave them, according to our promise, with these three men, who would take care to have them fetched home.

We took the three men, and tied their hands behind them, and then delivered the prince to him. He shook hands with our captains, and went to the army. His brethren, seeing him coming, ran to meet him, as did also many others; and there seemed to be more rejoicing for his deliverance than there was before for the king's.

We proceeded on our journey as well as our feeble limbs would carry us, without meat and drink, and soon saw Captain Younge's mistake; for the negroes, instead of going back, came nearer to us, and some marched before us; so that we expected every minute when they would assault us. We had a young lad who lost his leg at Bengal, but had a wooden one, though well fitted, yet was he not able to keep up with us; for we, being now surprised by their surrounding us, hastened on more than before, insomuch that we were forced to leave this poor lad behind us. We saw them as they came up with him take off his wooden leg and make sport with it, bidding him follow us, till at length they thrust their lances into his body, and left him wallowing in his blood. We now saw plainly what we had to expect from them, and therefore hurried on as fast as our feeble limbs could carry us, till sunset, when we came to a large tamarind tree, which we climbed for the leaves to chew, because they were sour, it not being then the fruit season.

The three black men we had prisoners, seeing what had passed, began to be afraid of their lives, for they thought if their people attacked us they were sure to be killed. They therefore called Sam and the captains, and told them they had a proposal to make, which would be for the safety of all our lives. It was, "That as soon as it was dark we should silently march from this place, and walk all night." The captains liked the proposal, and ordered us not to sleep, but to be ready as soon as the word was given to go forward. This was very hard, considering how tired we were the day before; but we were glad to submit to anything that gave us hopes of escaping from those barbarians. As soon as it was dark enough to conceal our flight we assembled together, and took some muslin and calico and hung them upon the bushes, that the spies,

who, we knew, watched us, might think we still remained there.

We walked off very silently and slowly, and undiscovered by them. Captain Drummond was taken so ill he could not walk, and there were none of us able to carry him. At last we resolved to make the three blacks carry him by turns. When we had thus travelled most part of the night, we came to a thicket among some cotton trees, where the man who carried Captain Drummond, pretending to heave himself up to give a lift, threw the captain on the ground and ran away into the wood, and we never saw him again. We took more care of the other two, and led him, whose turn it was to carry the captain, with a rope about his neck.

We travelled a great many miles this night, notwithstanding our weak condition, and were glad when we saw the day break; for the negroes had told us if we travelled all night, before half the next morning was past we should be at Manderra River. And their information was true, for as we went on and came to a little hill, the sun just rising, they showed us the river. It was a great way off, yet the hopes we had of coming to it in a little time, and of getting water to quench our parched bodies, gave us no small pleasure, and our spirits began to revive even at the sight of it. That this was also the bounds of this king's dominion gave us some comfort, though there were no inhabitants to protect us within several miles on the other side. Some of our people who were tired began to take the liberty of sitting down, thinking the negro army would never come in sight of us again.

But this flattering prospect of safety quickly vanished, for as soon as they missed us in the morning they ran after us like so many greyhounds; and by that time we got within a mile of Manderra River they overtook us, and began immediately to slaughter our men then resting under the trees, striking their lances into their sides and throats. I was one of those who could not travel well, but there were twenty behind me; the woman who was saved in our ship was next to me. I, seeing them kill our people as they overtook them, tore off my coat, and afterwards my waistcoat, throwing them away that they should not hinder me in running. For the foremost of our

people being got over the river, and I not far off, took courage; but as I looked back at the pop of a gun I saw the woman fall, and the negroes sticking their lances into her sides. It was my turn next, for the same negroes came after me, and I was just got to the river side as they fired a gun at me;. but I jumped into it. Our men who had got over made a stand on the other side to defend us who were behind; and for all the negroes followed me close, I would not go through the river without stopping to drink two or three times out of my hat, till I was swelled with water.

I got over to our people, and whilst we were on the bank and faced them they would not attempt to go over. Our captain asked me if there were any more of our people to be expected. I told him no, they were all killed. We waited, however, a little, and seeing no hopes of any escaping to us we marched on. We had a wood to go through, and the negroes followed us as soon as they saw us gone from the banks. They got into the woods and skulked behind the trees, firing every now and then at us, and killing three or four of our men. We had not travelled above two miles in this wood before we came to a large sandy open place that we could see no end to, and here they resolved to stop our progress, knowing if we went much further we should be within hearing of King Samuel's people, who were their enemy, and would readily assist us. They therefore divided themselves into several bodies, in order to break in upon us on every side; and we, seeing their designs, were resolved to sell our lives and liberties as dear as we could. Hereupon our captains put us in as good order as was possible, and divided our armed people into four divisions, one under the command of each captain, and the other under Mr. John Bembo; the rest who had no arms, or were disabled, we covered as well as we could in a little valley; and with them were the two negro hostages.

We had not above six and thirty fire-arms amongst us, and not many more people fit to fight, so that we were a poor handful to withstand an army of two or three thousand. When they found we made a stand to oppose them they did so too; and after their accustomed manner (where it could be done) three or four of them in a place threw up the sand before

them to cover themselves, and being also beneath us down-hill we could see only their heads. Their shot flew very fast over us, and we kept them in play from noon till six in the afternoon, by which time all our shot was gone. Our people who had money made slugs of it; and when that was done they took the middle screws out of their guns and charged their pieces with them. When they could find no more shot they knew not what to do. Now we began to reflect on them who advised the delivering up the king, and afterwards his son, when keeping them would have been our safeguard. The two negroes in our custody expected every minute to be killed, when they saw some of our people wounded; but their death would do us no good, and therefore we did not hurt them.

At length it was agreed to send the woman Dudey and her husband to them with a flag of truce, as well to protract the time as to know what they wanted. So we tied a piece of red silk to a lance, and sent them away. All this while they kept firing at us, not knowing what we meant by not firing again. They shot at those who carried the flag, but when they saw they came nearer to them, and were not armed, the prince gave orders to cease. Dudey was interpreter, and told them that our captain was willing to make peace with them, and would deliver up the two hostages and send the guns and ammunition we took away with us as soon as we got a little further into this country. They said they would let us go in the morning if we would deliver up our arms and the men, but they would not let us that evening because it was dark. Their reason was that if we got away that night we should send some of King Samuel's people, who were their utter enemies, to revenge ourselves upon them.

We could not tell what resolution to come to. We were willing enough to let the two men (whom they called generals) go, but we were loth to part with our arms. Most of us, and our captain, were of opinion that they followed us only for them, and were for delivering our arms; but Captain Drummond, Captain Steward, and their people, with Mr. Bembo and some of our people were against it. Captain Drummond particularly expressed a great concern to see us so easy to be imposed upon, and told us that we might see their words were

worth nothing. But most voices carried it, and Captain Younge being of the opinion to do it, it was agreed, and, in short, soon done; for Dudey had no sooner orders to go and tell them but they sent people to fetch the arms from us. However Captain Drummond and his companions claimed theirs as their own property, which they brought on shore with them, so would not deliver them, nor would Dudey's husband. The negroes well knew we had but few left, and went away seemingly contented for that night. Dudey came back to us and told us that they would let us go in the morning; and night now coming on we laid down on the sand to repose ourselves as well as our distressed circumstances would admit; for besides the hunger and fatigue we suffered, a thousand reflections now came into our heads of what barbarity we had seen them use the day before, and that it was now in their power to do with us what they pleased.

Day began to break, which was the fourth of our miserable journey. We looked up as soon as we could see one another, and immediately missed Captain Drummond, Captain Steward, Mr. Bembo, Dudey, and her husband, and four or five more, who went away silently in the night without saying anything to us. Now our fate approached, and we were come to the end of this miserable journey, which, after so bold an attempt, we undertook for the preservation of our lives and liberty, and a tragical one it was.

For, it was no sooner broad daylight, but the negroes came to us, and the prince stood talking with Sam a little while. Captain Younge asked him what they said to him. He answered, "They wanted to know where Captain Drummond and the rest were." They had scarce done speaking, when one of the princes took hold of me, and delivered me to one of his men. There were three or four youths more besides myself, and much about my age, whom they seized, and delivered to their people in like manner, who bound our hands with ropes.

I was just tied, when I saw the same prince stick his lance into Captain Younge's throat and afterwards into his sides. He had no sooner killed him, but he went on to another, and the rest of his people immediately followed his example, and

soon murdered every man; they then fell to stripping them of their clothes, and even butchering them; for they ripped open several of their bellies. As for my part, I did not know what more miserable death might be designed for me; for one of the generals came with his lance lifted up to strike me, but was hindered by the man who held me, giving him some reason that I could not then understand; but I was afterwards informed, he told him I was reserved for the king's grandson. But this would not hinder the officer from rifling me; for he, feeling my purse without side my breeches, and not readily finding the pocket-hole, in a fury, with his lance cut away my breeches, and narrowly missed my flesh.

When they had made an end of their butchery, and clothed themselves with the garments of the slain, they marched away in great haste for fear of Port Dauphine people; for they supposed that Captain Drummond, and the rest had been gone long enough to alarm them, and send some forces down to our rescue. Now whether the negroes might not think we had sent them away on purpose to get help; and this might enrage and provoke them to murder us, I can't say; but certain it is, we were pursued by a merciless fate, and were the most unfortunate wretches in the universe; for I was afterwards informed, that we were scarce marched off the spot, and our murdered people not quite cold, before two thousand of King Samuel's men came down to rescue us.

And now I can't help thinking that my reader will say, Why did we not send two or three of our people as soon as ever we got over the river? To which I can only answer, I think we were all infatuated; for with ease it might have been done, especially since we had the woman Dudey, to go with them as an interpreter, and we might have kept Sam with us; but I saw none of those reasons then, I was but a youth, and it could not be expected from me. And why Captain Younge was for releasing the king, and afterwards his son, is what I can't pretend to account for. Certainly, the plot was well laid, and as well executed at first, but miserably conducted afterwards; and indeed, it is scarce credible that so many

people could be so surprisingly stupid as we then were; and this I have often wondered at since I have attained to a mature age, and could reflect with more judgment.

What I have to offer for a reason in this affair is, "That as all of us had a great affection for our captain's father, so it caused us to think the better of what his son did." But I found since to my great grief, that our young Captain Younge wanted ripeness of judgment, and experience in the world; for Captain Drummond, as I well remember, opposed him in several things, but by whatsoever ill-conduct or folly we might contribute to the bringing on our fate, so it was; and I am relating a real transaction of matter of fact, and not inventing a fiction, or telling what might have been; or what should have been instead of what was; but thus were my friends massacred, myself and three more made slaves; for they saved only four of us alive, the eldest of us was not above sixteen years of age, and we were immediately separated, for they marched directly off the spot. As for Sam, I reckon him not amongst us, because he went off with the negro people; I never saw him after, but I heard he lived a freeman under Deaan Crindo; and whether he was so just to us as he should have been is somewhat doubtful. All the way we went I had the ghastly prospect of our men's mangled corpses in passing through the woods to the river. I was not now so thirsty as when we first passed it, but so faint for want of victuals that I could scarce stand on my legs, having had none for three days. My master seemed concerned for me, but hastened over the river before he would bait; and in a proper and pleasant place by the river side, he ordered his people to stop, and make a fire, and now I was in the hopes of eating; for some of his servants having carried beef on their backs, they cut it into long pieces, like ropes, with the hide, and dressed, and eat it half-roasted according to their custom, and gave it me in the same manner; this I thought the sweetest morsel I ever eat in my life; though a beggar in England would not have touched it. We rested here about an hour, when he who had the care of me made signs to know if I was able to walk; and I, being a little refreshed, got up and travelled the remaining part of the day with more ease than

I expected; they walking leisurely, as I perceived, on purpose to favour me.

At night we came to a wood, where we were to lodge, and there we met three or four men whom my master had sent to look for some cattle, and they brought with them two bullocks; one of which my master sent to his brother, for him and his people, and the other was killed for us; for the army was now separated, and everybody going home with their respective chief to their own habitation. Here my master came to me, and gave me a lance, pointing to me to cut out some beef for myself. I cut about a pound without the hide, which he, perceiving, imputed to my ignorance, and so cut a piece with the hide, and dressed it himself for me, which I eat, not daring to refuse it. After supper every man went to pulling up grass by the roots to lie on, and my guardian pulled enough for himself and me; I then laid myself down, and he laid by me, but his black skin smelled so strong that I was forced to turn my back on him all night. I had but little rest, for the horrid spectacle of my massacred friends was constantly before me, and made me start from sleep as soon as I closed my eyes.

At break of day we arose, and after the usual repast marched on till noon, when we baited among some shady trees near a pond of water; this very pond, I perceived, we had passed by three days before, within two hundred yards, when we were dying with thirst, and the negroes told us there was no water near us.

While some were making a fire, I observed several others were digging up and down among the grass. I wondered what they were doing, and went toward one of them, whom I found pulling out of the ground a long white root, which I knew to be a yam, having seen them at Bengal; they soon furnished themselves with what they wanted. I found they grew wild; some of them were a yard long, and as thick as the calf of one's leg; * they gave me some, which I roasted and eat, with great pleasure, instead of bread with my beef: they are very good food.

* There are many wild species of yams in Madagascar called *Ovy* generically. They are described in more detail hereafter.

We came that evening to a little town, which we no sooner entered, but the women and children came running about me, pinching and striking me with the back of their hands, and showing other signs of derision and contempt; at which I could not forbear weeping, but when my guardian observed it, he came and drove them away. All the empty houses were taken up by my master, his brother, and other headmen, so that my guardian and I lay in the open air. The abuses I met with from the women and children, put a thousand distracting thoughts into my head; as, "that I might be kept alive only to be carried to the king and his son, who would probably be filled with resentment at our late seizing, and making them prisoners; and to gratify their pleasure and revenge, might order me to be put to death before their faces by some very horrible torments." Such thoughts as these so disordered me, that when once through weariness I fell into a slumber, I had a terrible dream, which so frighted me, that I started upright, and trembled in every joint, and no sleep could I get that night.

When it was broad daylight we marched on our way homeward (for now I must call it so) and in three or four hours' time we arrived at a pretty large town, with three great tamarind trees before it. One of the negroes carried a large shell,* which, as soon as he blowed, sounded like a post-boy's horn. This brought the women to a great house in the middle of the town about twelve foot high, which I soon found to be my master's. He had scarce seated himself at his door, when his wife came out crawling on her hands and knees till she came to him, and then licked his feet, when she had done, his mother did the same; and all the women in the town saluted their husbands in the same manner; then every one went to their own home, except my master's brother, who, though he had a house, had no wife to go to, and so he stayed.

My mistress beckoned me to go in and sit down, I perceived a great deal of serious discourse pass between my master and her, and by her looking so earnestly at me, while he was

* Large conch shells, a species of *Triton*, are common on the coast.

talking, I conjectured he was telling our tragical story, and I observed the tears to stand in her eyes. She ordered some carravances to be boiled for our dinner, they are like grey peas ;* she gave me some, but they looked as if they had been boiled in dirty water. She perceiving I did not like them, strained them off the water, and put some milk to them, and then I made a tolerable meal of them. She gave me a mat to lie down on, and a piece of calico about two yards to cover me. She made me understand that she wanted to know my name, which I told her was Robin. I, having received so much civility from my mistress, began to be better satisfied than before; and then laid me down, and slept without any fear or care, as near as I could guess, about four hours by the sun. When I waked, my mistress called me by name, and gave me some milk to drink. She talked a great deal to me, but I understood not a word she said. My master was all this while sitting with his brother without the door, regaling themselves with drinking toake.

When night came, I found I was to lie in the same place, for there was no other room. My master and mistress lay in the middle, and the whole house was not above fourteen foot long and twelve wide; so that I laid across close to his feet. On this manner I lived, and lay three or four nights, till one night he called me by my name, as I suppose, to know whether I was awake; but I answered him as often as he called, which was three or four times. I fancy he would have been better pleased if I had slept sound, and had not heard him, for the next evening he carried me to his aunt's house, and made me to understand I must lie there. At this aunt's house I remained day and night, and used to walk out with her and her daughter to the plantations, which were newly made, and where they had sowed Guinea corn and planted potatoes. When we came home at evening, I used to go and visit my master and mistress; she used to give me milk, sometimes fresh and sometimes sour. They were not in haste to put me to work, and indeed, I could do them but little service, being wholly ignorant of their language; besides he

* Carravances are the small beans or peas known as "*Ambrevades*" (*phaseolus Capensis*) or "*pois du Cap.*"

did not want working slaves, having above two hundred to serve his occasions.

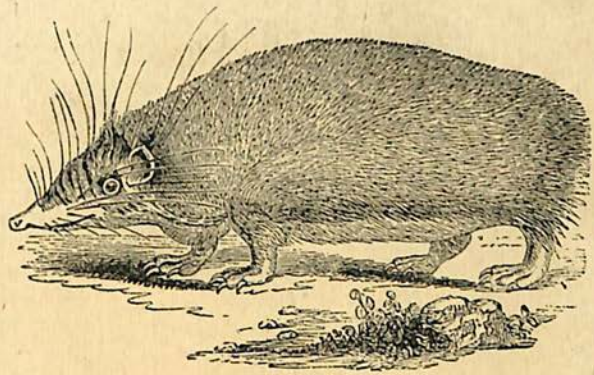
My master, whose name was Deaan Mevarrow, was grandson to Deaan Crindo, who was absolute lord of this country, and his wife was the daughter of a king to the northward, whom they overcame in a battle, and she was one of the captives which Deaan Mevarrow took; for this reason it was she took compassion on me, being herself a slave, and in a strange country, and only preferred to be wife to my master by courtesy.

I began after a while to reconcile myself to their manner of eating, seeing no better was to be had; only I would pull off some of the hair from the hide of the beef. I used often to think how happy my brother and sister lived at my father's table, and that even some beggars in England fared better in this respect than I did here. But when I found that nobody lived better I made myself easy, and had pretty well got over all my fears of being killed, till an accident happened, which put me in most dreadful apprehensions for an hour's time. My master took me along with him one evening with some of his people into the woods. I saw preparations for killing and dressing a bullock, or some such thing; but seeing none to kill, and it being now dark, I observed them to walk about with caution, and to talk softly, and all the symptoms of some secret design. I presently fell a-crying, and thought they were going to kill and eat me; but my fears were soon over, when I saw two slaves dragging along a bullock with a rope about his horns, in whose throat my master stuck his lance. They immediately fell to cutting him up, and dressing the intrails after their manner. The carcass was divided and shared, and I observed every man went and hid his meat in some private place, from whence he might fetch it by night. When our business was finished, we separated and went home, some one way and some another; they would not go in a body for fear of being taken notice of. I now began to find that we were all this while stealing other folks' cattle. I had, indeed, before wondered that the aunt I lived with would often dress meat in the night, but this cleared up the mystery. Howbeit this was not

the only time I was compelled to assist in this kind of theft.

In three or four months' time I began to understand the names of common things in their language. I went one day with my master and mistress into the plantations, where the slaves were hoeing the weeds from the carravances, which were just above the ground. They gave me a hoe, but I, having no mind to work, pretended to be very ignorant, and hoed up carravances and weeds together, at which they laughed, and took away my hoe. But this artifice proved of little service to me, for my master, finding that either I could not or would not work in the plantations, was resolved to set me about some other business, such, at least, that I could not do wrong. So the next day he, showing me his cattle, told me I must take care of them and drive them to water, and see that they did not break into his own and other people's plantations. Now, here is no distinction or property of lands, but every man feeds his beasts and plants where he thinks fit. This business I liked better than the other, because there were three or four boys more of this town about my age, who also had cattle to look after. The worst was we had a great way to drive them to water and back again; besides, I had a long tub, which held about three gallons, to carry home with me, for all the water we used in the house was fetched from this place where the cattle drank. Notwithstanding this we had time enough, for we joined our herds together, and in the heat of the day, when the cattle would lie down in the shade, we had three or four hours' time to go into the woods to get wild yams. I had been thus long in the country, and never knew how they struck fire, till I, wanting to roast some of my yams, asked the boys where their fire was. The unlucky rogues showed me their hands, and said, "Here it is." But one of them soon showed me how they did it. He took one stick like half a gun rammer and another a great deal thicker, both of one sort of wood, and rubbed the former upon the latter till there came a dust from it, then a smoke, and soon after fire.

We sometimes went into the woods and stole people's honey and eat it, as we found it, with the wax. We used, when we



TANDRAKA.

OLY, OR CHARM.

could spare time enough, to look for a creature which I call a ground-hog, and which in their language is called tondruck.* It is about the bigness of a cat, but its nose, eyes, and ears are like a hog; it has bristles also on its back, and no tail; the feet are like a rabbit's. Their chief food is beetles and young snails, which they root up with their noses. They have above twenty young ones at a litter, to which they give suck. In the colder time of the year (for though there is no season which can properly be called winter, yet one time of the year is sensibly colder than the other) these creatures hide themselves in the ground after a most wonderful manner. They first dig a hole right down about two foot deep, then they work sloping downwards two or three feet one way, and then as much another, making angles. All the way they work they throw the earth behind with their forefeet, and make it as firm with their hind-feet as if no passage had been made. When they have thus worked a good way downward and forward, they then work aslant upwards in the same manner till they come within half a foot of the surface. There they make a little hole, just big enough for them to turn round in, and here they lie for four or five months without any appearance of food all the time. And what is yet more strange, they are as fat at the end of this time as when they first went in. It is no small difficulty to find them, for when we have found out some marks of the place where we think they began to dig, we are often frustrated in digging after them; they work so cunningly that we know not which way to dig for the hole they lie in; but we take much pains after them, for they are excellent food. Their skin is as brown and crisp as a pig's. We eat the hedgehogs,† too, but they are nothing near so good. These also get into holes of trees and hide themselves all the cold weather, where they remain for some months, and, by all that could be perceived, without food.

This keeping of cattle I liked well enough, except in the hot season, when it was a great fatigue to drive them every other day some miles to water. But in the colder season we had

* The *tandraka*, or *trandraka*, is well described; it is the *Centetes ecaudatus* of naturalists, indigenous, and peculiar to Madagascar.

† *Centetes semi-spinosus.*

no such occasion, for there falls so great a dew that we find it sufficient to drive them into the grass about break of day; and even the inhabitants of this part of the country of Anterndroea, who live at a distance from water, go out into the fields with two wooden platters and a tub, and in an hour's time will gather eight or ten gallons of dew-water. It will not keep, but will turn sour in a day or two.

I had not lived this life above a year when my master went to war, or, as I understood afterward, rather to plunder a people to the westward, against whom they have an irreconcilable enmity, they having surprised Deaan Crindo's father in his town by night and killed him.

My master told me I must not look after cattle any more; he was going to war, and had other business for me. I offered my service to go with him. He answered, they were to travel night and day; that it was a long and hard journey, and I could not be able to undergo the fatigue; but that my business must be to look after his wife, and be her guardian. He gave me a strict charge to lie in the same house with her, and never to let her go out anywhere without me. After giving her instructions to the same purpose he took his leave, and, with most of his people, went on their journey.

I now lived at ease, and my mistress was very kind to me. I went abroad when she did; eat when she eat; and lay in the house with her, both of us punctually observing my master's orders. Nor did I see she had any uneasiness at it or inclination to do otherwise. But I was not so easy myself, for the thoughts of my friends and native country, and the little probability I had of ever seeing them again, made me very melancholy, insomuch that sometimes I could not forbear weeping.

My mistress would often ask me whether I was sick or wanted anything. I was loth to tell her the reason, but one day I took the courage to tell her I wanted to see the other three lads who were saved and taken captives when I was. She bid me not to concern myself about that; she would go with me herself, and had a curiosity to hear us talk in our own language. She inquired of her neighbours where they were, who told us they were not all together, but that there was one

lived a little way off, about four or five miles; so the next morning we went thither, and asked for the white boy. He was gone to carry his fellow-servants some victuals to the plantations; but on a messenger going to him, he ran home immediately, being as desirous of seeing me as I was him. We embraced each other with great passion, and expressed ourselves rather in tears than in words. We had been very familiar on shipboard, and I delighted to treat him often with punch, he being a civil lad, and could play well on the violin. We lamented our hard fate, and grieved to see how wretchedly we looked, naked except a small clout about our middles, and our skins spotted like a leopard's; for we, not being used to be thus exposed to the sun, were scorched and flead, and our skins often rose up in blisters. We condoled each other's misfortunes, and agreed if either got to England to give the other's friends an account. We inquired of one another after the other two lads, but were equally ignorant what was become of them. My mistress observed us with much attention, and showed a deep concern at our grief, but with great reluctancy and many tears we were forced at last to part.

We had not been at home two hours before a messenger arrived from my master with news of his success, and that he would be at home in a fortnight. My mistress and all the women who had husbands abroad went immediately to making of toake. In the meantime, I fell dangerously sick with grief, but was tolerably recovered before my master's return.

He made his entry into town in a triumphant manner, the trumpet-shells blowing and some people before him dancing all the way with guns in their hands. At the entrance the foremost men fired their guns toward the ground, which is the signal of a return with victory. Deaan Mevarrow and his brother, Deaan Sambo, came after them with attendants; next followed the cattle and slaves he had taken from the enemy. After they were seated in form before my master, Deaan Mevarrow's house, his wife and the women came as usual, and licked his feet, and the men too whom he had left in the town behind him when he went to war. I stood all this while looking on till he espied me and called me to him. I went toward him in the usual posture of the country when they go toward

a great man—that is, with my hands lifted up and in a praying form. When I came near I gave him the compliment of "Salamonger Umba," but did not kneel down as others did, having a sort of superstitious reluctancy to it, thinking it an adoration that I ought to pay to none but God. But this excuse would not serve him, for he asked me if I thought myself too great a man to pay him the same respect his own wife did, who was a king's daughter, and also his own mother. But I peremptorily refused it, and told him I would obey all his other commands and do what work he pleased, but this I could not do. On this he fell into a passion, telling me how he had saved me from being killed among my countrymen, and that I was his slave, &c. But notwithstanding this, I continued obstinate. Hereupon he rose from his seat, and with his lance made a strike at me with all his force, but his brother giving it a push on one side, he missed me. He was going to repeat his blow, when his brother stood up between us and begged for me. He refused to pardon me except I would lick his feet. His brother desired he would give him a little time to talk with me, which he did; and after he had talked with me, and told me the danger of not doing it, and that in submitting to it I did no more than what many great princes were forced to do when taken prisoners, I found, at length, it was best to comply, so I went in and asked pardon, and performed the ceremony as others had done. He told me he readily forgave me, but would make me sensible I was a slave. I did not much regard his threats, for, seeing no hopes of returning to England, I set but little value on my life.

The next day I fell into another broil much more dangerous than the former, from which I did not expect to escape.

My master performed the ceremony of thanksgiving to God for his deliverance from the hazards of war, and for the victory obtained, which is done after this manner: "The people have in their houses a small portable utensil consecrated to religious uses, and is a sort of a household altar, which they call the Owley. It is made of a peculiar wood, in bits neatly joined, and making almost the form of a half-moon with the horns downwards, between which are placed two alligator's teeth. This is adorned with divers sorts of beads, and a sash fastened to it

behind; which a man is to tie about his waist when he goes to war." [I shall not here pretend to give a full account of their religious worship; for I had not been long enough in the country to know the true meaning of what they did and said.] "However, I observed them to bring two forks from the wood, and place them in the ground, on which was laid a beam, slender at each end, and about six-foot long, with two or three pegs in it, on this they hung the Owley.* Behind it was a long pole to which was tied a bullock. They had a pan with some live coals, on which they strewed a sweet-scented gum, and placed it under the Owley. Then they took some of the hairs of the tail, and from under the chin and eyebrows of the ox, and put them on the Owley. Then Deaan Mevarrow, my master, used some gesture with knives in his hand, and made his prayer, in which the people joined. They next threw the ox on the ground with his legs tied, and the deaan cut his throat; for they having no priests, the chief man, whether of the country, town, or family, performs all-divine offices himself. The people being seated on mats round about, my master called to me to sit down, and say as the people said, which I refused. He went on with his devotion, and when he had done, he takes the Owley in one hand and his lance in the other, and came towards me, asking me which I would rather choose, either to assist in their ceremony of returning thanks, or be struck through with his lance. Now I, thinking this sort of worship to be wicked idolatry, and that they paid their devotions to the Owley as a god, told him I would sooner die than worship false gods. He went back to put the Owley in its place, and came to me. He took me by the hand to lead me out of the town, and kill me; his brother, and all the people about him, used

* "There are two ways in which the consecration of a charm or medicine is performed among the Sakalava: (*a*) Andriananahary is simply asked that he will bless it and render it effective. (*b*) The *Oly* is daubed with grease and put into the fire, while certain cabalistic spells, used in such cases, are being pronounced. . . . It (the *Oly*) is considered very sacred and valuable by the Sakalava, and if any one should lose it, it is regarded as a most grave misfortune. Hence also the *Oly* is looked upon as the most valuable part of the property a father can bequeath to his son" (*Rev. A. Walen, Norwegian Mission*).

many arguments and entreaties to persuade him against killing me; but in vain, till at last his brother grew resolute, and told him he would that minute leave him, and see his face no more, if he offered to act such a piece of cruelty, and rose up to be gone. When Deaan Mevarrow saw his brother going in good earnest, he called him back, and told him he would spare my life, but I should have a very tiresome one with him, for he would be revenged on me one way or another for my contempt of him. Deaan Sambo told him he should not concern himself about that; all he begged for was my life. On this he winked upon me to kneel down and lick his feet; which I did, asking pardon and thanking him for sparing me. When I got up, I, of my own accord, kneeled down to Deaan Sambo, and licked his feet very sincerely and heartily, thanking him for having thus twice saved my life."

When all things were settled, I was ordered to my former post of cow-keeper. I had a great deal of trouble sometimes with these cattle, for they are very nimble and unruly; they are fine beasts, and notwithstanding their size, which is the largest in the world, they would jump over high fences. They have a hump between their shoulders, almost like a camel's, all fat and flesh; some of which might weigh, as near as I can guess, about three or fourscore pounds; they are also beautifully coloured, some streaked like a tiger, others black with white spots, and some white with black spots; or half black and half white. They do not give so much milk as our cattle in England, nor will they suffer themselves to be milked at any-time, till the calf has first sucked; so that they keep a calf for every cow all the year, or till the cow is big again; and they seldom miss a season. Here are also some sheep with great heavy tails, like Turkey sheep; but they are not woolly as ours, rather hairy as a goat. Here are also goats, a few, like those in other nations. They bring up no hogs, there are enough in the country, and very mischievous to the plantations; for they will sometimes break in, rout up and destroy the potatoes and other things. So that we are forced to set traps to catch them; but in this country of Anterndroea nobody eats them, except the poor and ordinary people.

While I was peaceably looking after my cattle, and every-

thing seemed quiet and easy, a sudden piece of news changed at once the scene of our affairs, and called my master to war in good earnest.

It is a common practice for parties to go out and surprise their enemies by night, when least expected. On these expeditions every man generally carries a piece of meat in his hand, and getting into the town in the dead of night, they throw the meat to the dogs to prevent their barking. When they are entered, one fires a musket, and making no other noise, the inhabitants suddenly rising, and hastily getting out of the doors of their low huts in a stooping posture, are stabbed with lances; the young ones and women they take captive, and drive away with them all the cattle they can find, burn the town, and return home by private unpractised ways. On this manner did Deaan Mevarrow, his brother, and some others of Deaan Crindo's people enter some of the king of Mefaughla's remote and defenceless towns;* to retaliate which on Deaan Crindo's people, he musters an army of three thousand men, and entered Anterndroea, resolving either to fight him in the field, or attack him in his own town Fenno-arevo, and burn it; and accordingly sent a messenger to Deaan Crindo to tell him so. To which he answered, "He would not stir out of the town, but wait for him there, and hoped he would be as good as his word."

Deaan Crindo, therefore, summons all his people to him, and be ready at hand in Fenno-arevo, or the neighbouring villages. He had four sons who were chiefs of towns, and had people under them; besides nephews and grandsons. His sons were Deaan Mundumbo, Deaan Frukey, Deaan Trodaughe, and Deaan Chahary; but it was his great misfortune, that Deaan Chahary was gone with five hundred able men to traffic, into Ferain-gher,† which is Augustine Bay country.

It is their custom in time of war to hide their wives, children, and cattle in remote secret places in the woods, that the enemy may not find them when they plunder the country; but

* The province Mahafaly reaches from the Menarandra River, the boundary of Antandroy, to the river Onilahy and St. Augustine's Bay.

† Fiarenana, or Fiherenana extends from St. Augustine Bay to Cape St. Vincent and the river Mangoky.

the woman and children are never with the cattle, lest their bellowing should make a discovery. The women can, for the most part, secure themselves, by drawing a bough after them as they go to their hiding place, which prevents their track from being followed. In this manner did my master and his people secure their wives, children, and cattle. With the latter I was left, and therefore am not able to give an exact account of this war, knowing only what was told me when they came back, which in general was as follows:

"That Deaan Woozington, the king, and his son Chemermaundy, and Ryopheck, his nephew, a gallant man, commanded the army of Merfaughla, entered the country without opposition; for Deaan Crindo having received his message, that he would come and burn him in his town, took care first to secure the families and cattle of his people, and then drew all his armed men there, resolving to wait his coming; but Deaan Mundumber, Frukey, and the younger chiefs, had not patience to hear of his passing quietly without resistance; so they pressed the king against his will to let them go out with two thousand men, and oppose him in his march. Deaan Crindo was resolute, and would not stir out of his town. This army was commanded in chief by Deaan Mundumber and Frukey, who behaved themselves with great bravery and good conduct, first sending word to Deaan Woozington that they were come by their father's command to give him a welcome into their country, and hoped he would meet them. To which, he answered, he would assuredly see them, and make himself welcome; and was as good as his word. They joined battle, and Mundumber was forced to retire; which he did in good order after a sharp and obstinate fight; in which Deaan Woozington's son was dangerously wounded. Deaan Mundumber returned to his father with eight hundred men, and would have persuaded him to go out with his forces and give Deaan Woozington battle; but the old king was obstinate, and would not, so Mundumber remained with him, fortifying the town as well as they could.

"After this Deaan Frukey and Trodaughe took a pass between two hills, and cutting down great trees to defend them, they had entirely stopped Deaan Woozington's progress, though he

attacked them in a vigorous manner, and was gallantly received and repulsed; till Ryopheck, by the help of a man who knew the country, got by a by-path behind them; and Deaan Woozington, at the same time with Ryopheck, charging them again, Frukey and his brethren were forced to retire; which they did with great resolution through Ryopheck's party. In this action Ryopheck, who was always in the hottest place, did with very much difficulty escape.

"In the end Deaan Woozington got to Fenno-arevo,* and attacked it in a vigorous manner; but was as bravely repulsed, Deaan Crindo and his sons resisting till they were overpowered; and when their enemies were got within the town, they even then defended every inch of ground, till Deaan Crindo himself was forced to cut down some of the trees, which are their walls, to make a passage for their escape. He so much relied on his own strength and courage that he kept his wife and daughter in his house, though all the other women and children were sent away; who fell into the hands of Deaan Woozington, and were made captives. The town was burnt after having been first plundered of such trifles as their riches consist in, the chief of which are beads;† these they often dig holes for, and hide, so that there is nothing to be got but iron shovels, hoes, earthen and wooden dishes, spoons, &c., some cattle, indeed, they found, which were brought into the town to sustain themselves during the siege; and in such cases these cattle live well enough on the thatches of the houses. They had also filled a great many tubs with water.

"Deaan Crindo was inconsolable for the loss of his wife and daughter, and like a distracted man; till his sons told him, if he would now join them, as he should have done at first, they were yet able to deal with Deaan Woozington. And accordingly they mustered all their forces into one army, and made a number equal to their ememies. Deaan Woozington, not being

* There are several localities in Madagascar named Fenoarivo, meaning a place filled with a thousand men.

† "The most desired merchandises, and by the Islanders best liked, are red beads of all sorts, sizes, and colours. . . . All their wealth consists in the aforesaid goods, as also in axes, knives, bills, sharp iron and steel spades, clothes, oxen" (*Ogilby*, 1670).

apprised of this, was detaching a thousand men to plunder the country, search for and bring in all the women, children, and cattle they could find; as they always do after an entire victory. When Deaan Crindo appeared in his view with his potent army, and sent messengers to tell him, he must either deliver the queen and princess, with the other people and cattle he had got, or immediately decamp and fight them, Deaan Woozington sent him word, he did not desire to keep his wife and daughter, nor did he come for slaves or cattle, he having enough already; but he, Deaan Crindo, had sent him a challenge bragging that his strength was superior to any of the kings on the island by the addition of white men, of which he boasted to have had a great number, and which he came to see, but finding none, he now hoped that Deaan Crindo's pride was a little humbled; so he was ready to send him his wife and daughter again; but for the few slaves and cattle he had taken, his people should keep them to make some recompense for the robberies which Mevarrow and others had committed in his country.

"In the end a peace was concluded and sworn to by the generals of each side with the usual solemnity of killing an ox, and each general eating a piece of the liver from off the point of a lance, and wishing that whoever fires the first gun it might be the destruction of him. The ceremony being over, rejoicings were made on both sides; Deaan Woozington returned into his own country, and Deaan Crindo to rebuild his ruined town, which is done almost as soon as destroyed; and all his chiefs each with his people to their respective homes." *

* In his account of Madagascar, mainly taken from Flacourt, Ogilby, the geographer to King Charles II., writes (1670): — "When any great man finds his power too weak to follow the war any longer, he sends one to the enemy with some presents to desire peace, and to appoint a day for a treaty, upon the concluding whereof, they meet one another on the shore of a river, each with all his people and soldiers, standing as ready for a battel; where each of them kill a Heifer and reciprocally send a piece of liver to eat, making deep asservations and high oaths, that if they purpose any longer to continue the Wars, to rob one another of their Cattel, or make use of sorcery or poisoning to damnifie each other's countrey, then that the liver given each of them at present may cause them to burst, etc." (*Africa*, p. 703).

When we were settled again, I, and three more boys, who belonged to some principal men of our town were sent some miles off with two hundred head of cattle to live by ourselves, and look after them. We had not among them above five or six which gave milk, and this was all the provision we had to live upon; what we wanted more, we must search for in the woods, and get it where and when we could find it. My mistress gave me an earthen pot to warm my milk in, a calabash to drink out of, and a mat to lie upon for my bed. My master gave me a hatchet to make fences with, and a lance; telling me, I must fight if anybody came to steal my cattle. He also gave me a new clout to wear after the manner of their country, my other being worn out; this for the ordinary people is not much broader than a napkin: they call it a Lamber,* and so shall I for the future.

We drove our cattle to the designed place, and the first thing we set about was to build us a house, which we soon finished; for it took us no more time than one day and a half. We next finished our cow-pen, and a small one for the calves, to keep them from sucking while we milked the cows. Our house was a poor little hut, not well-thatched, and it being now the rainy time (which is their winter, and is sometimes very cold), we had but a very indifferent lodging. We kept a fire, and happy was he who could first get to lie down nearest it; all the covering we had was our lambers, which we pulled off to lay over us. Now, it was, I felt the misery of my slavery, being almost famished; for good and substantial food we could get none, except now and then a small fowl,† which creeps on the ground; and which we took in traps.

We lived thus almost three months, and having eat no other flesh, we began to contrive the killing one of our master's beasts, and dress it secretly. A great many projects were talked of, till at length I proposed one which was agreed to; which was to kill a cow by stabbing her in the side with a stick made sharp; and make another cow's horn bloody, which belonged to the same man, that he might think it was done by

* *Lamba*, the usual outer garment worn by the people throughout the island.

† Probably the *Kibodolo*, a species of quail (*Turnix nigricollis*).

goring. But then a dispute arose, whose beast should be killed, for every one was for shifting it from his master. However, I soon determined that, by drawing lots with four sticks shorter than each other, and I so managed it, by keeping the longest in my hand, that it came not to my master's turn to have his cow killed.

When the business was done, away ran the boy to acquaint his master that one heifer was killed by another, he came immediately with his family, and finding a cow with a bloody horn, concluded it was done by her, so giving it some blows in a passion he fell to cutting up the dead beast, and gave us a good large piece besides the guts and legs, and then went home again. Thus far we succeeded well, but our chief design was, under colour of having meat given us by our masters, to kill another heifer, and if any person came to see us (as we were not far from people, though we were from our own homes) who should ask how we came by beef? we could tell them our masters gave it us. But we grew too venturous by our success, for one day, having killed one which strayed from some other people amongst ours, our masters, unluckily for us, came to see their cattle, which they found in the cow-pens, but none of us being near, they began to suspect us, and therefore, dividing themselves to make a more diligent search, one of them heard a noise in the wood like cutting down trees where we were very busy; and, following the sound, soon smelt roast meat. Our dogs too, like ourselves, were so hungry that they minded nothing but their bellies, though at other times they were very watchful, and would give us notice if a mouse did but stir: howbeit our masters surprised us, and came at once amongst us with their guns cocked, crying out, "Vonne terach com boar," which in English is, "Kill them, sons of dogs."

I need not relate what a fright we were in, expecting nothing but immediate death; and, indeed, it proved but little better to the other three. They took time to ask us whose beast it was, and being informed it was a strange one, they told us the crime was the same, for if we had got the habit of killing cattle privately, they knew theirs must some time be our prey when no others offered, and, therefore, were resolved to punish us. Hereupon my comrades' masters took each his slave, and in an

instant (ah, woful fate!) mutilated them. I, not liking that sort of punishment, fell down at my master's feet, and told him how careful I had been of his cattle, and that I had rather run the risk of my life by his shooting me at a reasonable distance than sustain so great a loss. To this he listened, and taking me out of the wood he tied my arms behind me round a tree, and placed himself at a great distance (I suppose about fourscore yards), then seeming to take good aim at me, fired, but missed me. Whether he did it on purpose I cannot say, but I am apt to think he did; imagining the terror was enough, and seeing how severely the others were punished. They took their leaves of us, telling us, if ever they found us doing the like again, nothing should save us from immediate death.

They were no sooner gone from us, but I began to reflect on the injustice of our masters, who, though they had cattle of their own, would often oblige us to go with them on several of their thievish expeditions, and yet so severely punished us for our poor crime to satisfy our hunger. However, after all, I was forced to be doctor to my poor afflicted comrades, for their masters took no care of them, so I warmed some water and washed off the blood and dressed their wounds; I was also forced, while we remained there, to look after all the cattle and to milk them too, for they were not recovered when orders was brought us to return home with our cattle. My comrades being but just able to walk, I made the messenger, who came to us, help to drive the cattle.

When I came home I was soon made sensible that Deaan Tuley-Noro, king of Antenosa, had given my master this trouble, by marching his people into Anterndroea, and demanding of Deaan Crindo satisfaction for the murder of the white men. Now, though this was two years and a half before (for so long I had been in the country), yet I soon heard that Capt. Drummond, Capt. Steward, Mr. Bembo, and the rest, who escaped the night before the massacre, were with him; and that there had not been, in all that time, a ship come to Port Dauphine for them to return home in, but that notwithstanding they lived free, and entirely at their own disposal. This Deaan Tuley-Noro was King Samuel, whom I mentioned

before, whose history I shall relate in its proper place, and whose dominions were on the other side of the River Manderra.

I was no sooner come home, but I was taken from the cattle and put under the care of two men, who were to guard me and see that I did not run away to King Samuel. The next day we heard the Antenosa people were within ten or twelve miles of our town, which put them all into a great fright and hurry. The cattle were sent one way, and the women and children into the woods another, and poor Robin, their white slave, along with them with his hands tied behind him. But I had not been long there, before a messenger came in great haste to my mistress, ordering her "to send me to my master in the camp, for the white men were to buy me, and had agreed to give two buccaneer guns." My mistress was loth to part with me, I dissembled as much as I could, and pretended I should have been glad to stay with them now, since I had been so long among them, though at the same time I had much ado to conceal my joy. I kneeled down and licked her feet, thanking her for her civilities, and away I went with the messenger in great hopes now of seeing some of my countrymen again and getting to England. But see how fortune tantalized me! It was about twenty miles, as I guess, to the camp where my master was, and it might be somewhat after midnight when we arrived there; my master set a watch over me the remaining part of the night, and made me swear I would never tell the hiding-place of their wives and cattle, which I very readily did.

The next morning King Samuel sent to know if I was come, and they would let a hundred men come down with me between the two camps, and he would send a hundred to meet them with the two buccaneer guns. Which being agreed to, Deaan Crindo ordered my master to go with the party; and King Samuel, seeing them coming forward, ordered to his men to go and meet them; among whom were Capt. Drummond, and the rest of the white men. When we came pretty near one another, Capt. Drummond, being glad to see me, called to me by my name, asked me how I did. My master, who stood by me, clapped his hand upon my mouth, and vowed if I offered to

speak he would kill me, so that I durst not answer. Capt. Drummond, finding I did not answer, thought, as I suppose, that I could not hear; whereupon he and the white men came nearer to us. My master seeing them advancing, thought they came to take me by force, and cheat them of the two guns; he, therefore, ordered his men to fire at them, so that instead of a parley, and changing me for the two guns, a skirmish began: the shot and lances flew at one another, and both armies advanced to support each other's party. I was immediately sent away under a strong guard to the woods, where I parted from my mistress the night before, so that this fine prospect of deliverance was only a short, transitory dream of liberty, which immediately vanished, and made me only feel the misery of slavery more sensibly than before. I know not well which way I went back, but, sure I am, it was in such-like disorder of mind as a condemned criminal has when going to execution. But in a few hours I found myself in my former station, my legs in Parrapingo (a fastening almost like fetters) for fear I should run away; my old companions were about me, my mistress, and the women very glad to see me again; But I was too dull to compliment them, they could have nothing from me but tears and exclamations at my hard fortune. I wished for death, and was very near being gratified in my desire two days after.

The next day news was brought us of Deaan Tuley-Noro's returning back to his own country, he being, as they said, forced to retire by Deaan Crindo, though the Antenosà army was twice their number. We were also ordered to go home, and I was released from Parrapingo,* and allowed to walk at liberty, my guard being also discharged.

The day following came Deaan Mevarrow, Deaan Sambo, and their little army, entering the town with great pomp and grandeur, as if they had gained some notable victory, though I heard of nothing but a little bush-fighting and ambuscadoes. However, the Deaan sat himself down with his brother, other chiefs, and the rest in the usual form before his house. My mistress, according to custom, crept out to lick her hero's feet; when she had done, the rest of the women did the like; and

* "*Parapaingo*," a word evidently derived from the foreigners.

after them the slaves, among whom was myself. As I was getting up to go away, he bad me stay. I stood some time hearing him tell his wife what a coward Deaan Tuley-Noro was to run away, though he had twice their number of men. After he had done, he turned his head, and, with an angry countenance, asked me "What the white men said to me when they called me?" "Sir," said I, "they only asked me how I did." "And nothing else?" said he. I replied, "No, sir." At this he rose up, cocked his gun, and putting the muzzle to my breast, with his finger to the trigger, said "If I did not tell him the truth he would shoot me that instant." I was not much daunted, not regarding my life in the melancholy humour I then was, so with very little concern I told him the same again, at which he pulled the trigger; but Providence being pleased to preserve me for some other purpose, the cock snapped, and missed fire. Whether the prime was wet in the pan, or by what miracle it was, I cannot say; but he took his lance to stab me, when his brother and the rest of his chief men ran in between us, and told him "It was barbarous and cruel, and that he had better have killed me at first than to have saved me only to terrify me with death on every trivial occasion, there being no reason at all for this." With much persuasion he returned to his seat, and told them "there was reason to suspect the white men had formed a plot to do some unfair thing, else why did they come nearer than they should have done?" And, indeed, their fears proceeded from a natural dread they have on them of white men, ten of whom will drive fifty black men before them. And then Captain Drummond and the rest being completely armed with pistols in their girdles made them the more terrible to them. What was the true reason of King Samuel retiring thus I don't know; but when this broil was over, I was very inquisitive to understand the whole transaction, which was thus related to me.

"King Samuel's design was to march directly to Fennoarevo, and come upon Deaan Crindo before he could be provided for him. His way lay through a large plain, called Ambovo,* leading to a great wood, which they must also pass

* There is a river named Manambovo, east of Cape St. Mary.

through. Deaan Crindo, having more timely notice than they expected, laid an ambuscado in the wood. King Samuel was lame of the gout, and carried on men's shoulders. Him and great part of his army they suffered to enter the wood, and then the signal being given, Deaan Crindo's men arose and attacked them so vigorously, and with such advantage (knowing the wood, which the others did not), that King Samuel himself had like to have been taken, but was gallantly defended by the white men and others of his bravest people. However, they were forced to retire into the plain, where they encamped, as did also Deaan Crindo's people close by the wood-side, and even in it, securing themselves by that means from the superior number of the Antenosa army, which, they say, consisted of six thousand men; and here they came to parleying. King Samuel sent one of his chiefs to tell Deaan Crindo that he came not for lucre of his cattle, nor for slaves; but he having been brought up among white men, all such were his friends, and he looked on himself obliged in duty and honour to demand some satisfaction of Deaan Crindo for the white men which he had barbarously killed; and if there were any left alive, he desired to have them, that he might send them to their native country.

"Deaan Crindo gave good attention to the messenger, and then returned an answer to this purpose: That he wondered Deaan Tuley-Noro should trouble himself with other people's business. As to the white men who were shipwrecked on his coast, he looked upon it that the great God had sent them there. He, having a potent enemy, and knowing the white men to be skilful in war, as also of courageous spirit, did design not to slight the help his gods had sent him, but to desire their assistance in his wars. Accordingly he treated them with the greatest civility as friends, and maintained them as well as his country would afford, they wanting for nothing he could procure them; and after all, though they had, in a violent manner, seized him and Prince Murnanzack,* and made them prisoners, he would condescend so far to Tuley-Noro to tell him (though under no obligations to give him an account of his actions or make excuses) that neither

* Manjaka, to reign; Mpanjaka, the sovereign (see p. 105).

himself nor Prince Murnanzack were present, or any ways aiding or assisting in their deaths, but that action was done by some of his sons and nephews, to revenge their barbarous seizing him and Prince Murnanzack. And to convince him, he does not tell him this as an excuse through a mean-spirited fear; since his sons did think fit to do it, he will justify and defend them in it, and thinks they did the white men justice. That he knows of but one living out of four boys that were saved at that time, who, he finds by inquiry, is in Deaan Mevarrow's hands; as to the other three, one died by sickness, another was killed by his master for his wickedness, and the third is run away or lost, for nobody could tell what became of him; and as to him who was living, he should not have him without giving such a price as his master thought proper."

Now I am apt to think by several circumstances that this answer might seem to King Samuel to carry some reason with it, and that, in my opinion, prevailed more on him to return to Antenosa* than all the force my bragging master talked of, or than all that Crindo's army was able to do.

However, they told me that King Samuel, in his reply to this, excused the violence the white men offered to Deaan Crindo, by saying "that they did it only to secure their own flight from him for their liberty; that they did not, nor ever designed to, hurt or wrong him. However, since there was no raising the dead to life, if he would send six hundred head of cattle, it should be taken for a satisfaction. As for me, he was content to buy me, and desired to know what they demanded for me. Deaan Crindo sent word that, as to me, they required two buccaneer guns; † but as to his demand of six hundred head of cattle, he was not to have laws and arbitrary commands imposed on him by any king in the world; that if they wanted provision, he was ready to make them a present, for it should not be said Deaan Tuley-Noro came to see him, and he would not give him a dinner, and therefore had ordered his people to give him six oxen and a bull."

* Anosy, or Antanosy, the country east of the Mandrere river, about Fort Dauphin.

† Two muskets were the regular price of a slave when purchased by the European dealers for the Isle of France.

Some said King Samuel resented this as an affront, and would have attacked the Anterndroeans immediately, but was dissuaded by Captain Drummond and the rest, there being no likelihood of any engagement but bush-fighting, which must be to the advantage of the Anterndroeans in their own country and in possession of the wood. So, finding that no other terms were to be had, they accepted of Deaan Crindo's present, which his men did indeed want, and went on in their parley about me, the success of which you have already seen.

But I must not pass over a piece of superstition practised here.* There are a sort of people in this country who pretend to a great deal of knowledge in the magical virtue of roots, trees, plants, and other such like matters, and of their power to perform strange things by charms made of them. One of these conjurers, or Umossee (as the natives call them), advised Deaan Crindo to take a certain powder which he gave him, and to strip off a piece of the skin of the tail of the bull, which he advised should be a white one, too, because Deaan Tuley-Noro was a whitish man, and to put this magical powder on the wound, as also to mix some of it with water, and give it to the bull to drink before it was given to the Antenosa men. Now this was not done to make the creature unwholesome, and thereby procure deaths or diseases amongst their enemies in the common way; but it was expected to work some witchcraft or supernatural operation on them.†

* "The *Omasy*," writes Mr. A. Walen, in his description of the Sakalava tribes, "are the doctors, whose medicaments are supposed to be useless unless rendered efficacious by enchantment. The *Omasy* also deal in charms, for which there is a great demand, and they have a lucrative business in that way."

† "When war is declared, the first act is to obtain a male calf and a young cock, both generally black. The *Omasy* is called for, who has these animals dedicated and prepared as charms of great efficacy. . . . The spies carry the calf and cock with them till they get sight of the enemy, and finding out a place where the enemy are likely to pass, leave the calf and cock there. When the enemy see the calf they would say, 'This is the black calf sent to bring distress and death upon us, let us go home while we are still alive.' This sometimes suffices to defer the breaking out of war for a considerable time" (*A. Walen*).

Now it happened in two months after this that King Samuel died. He was at that time very infirm, and had been so long before, which, with the fatigue of this journey, might hasten his end. But there were not wanting people superstitious enough to think his death was the effect of this conjuration, though we might be sure he eat none of the bull, there being oxen at the same time, for these negroes would not make oxen any more than we white men did they not know them to be in every respect preferable to bulls.

And since I have had an occasion to say so much of King Samuel, I suppose my reader will have curiosity enough to desire to know who this king with a Christian name was, and for what reason he should endeavour to assist us and revenge our wrongs. His living near the sea, and the riches he and his people got by trading with the English, may pass as a sufficient reason for the friendship this king showed to our people; and, indeed, all over the island they are friends to the English, except in some few places remote from the sea. But King Samuel's history being very singular, I shall here relate it as I learned it at times from the natives. Whether any of the French authors of voyages have wrote anything of him I know not, nor have I had the opportunity of seeing their histories of Madagascar to compare with this of mine. It is exactly as the people themselves told me, and I shall not alter or vary from their account of it, whether it is agreeable to what others have said or no.*

"This part of the country, to which the French have given the name of Port Dauphine, is called, in the Madagascar language, Antenosa. About ninety years ago there came hither two French ships—on what account, voyage, or business they were I can't learn; but they came to an anchor close under the land in a very good harbour. The captains observing that there were plenty of cattle and all provisions, as also a good soil, concluded that one of them should stay here and make a

* This ignorance of the French authors on the part of the editor is disingenuous. He has so evidently derived both his map and this story of the French adventurers from De Flacourt's *Histoire*, or from Ogilby's extracts from that author.

settlement. Hereupon they cast lots who should remain on the island, and he on whom the lot fell was Captain Mesmerrico." * (I must here desire my reader to take notice that this is the name the natives told me, who, very likely, being unlearned, may pronounce it very different from the true name, but besides, as it is also some time since, and they have no writings or records of things, so consequently they can have no history, but by tradition, as the father tells the son, and so on to succeeding generations.) "This Captain Mesmerrico landed with two hundred white men, well armed, with store of ammunition, and other necessaries proper for the building of a fort, which they immediately began. The natives no sooner observed their intention but they endeavoured to hinder them. This caused a war, in which the French were the conquerors, who took at several times many prisoners. In this war, the king of Antenosa and his brother were killed; and amongst many other children which were taken the king's son was one. When the French had suppressed the natives and built their fort, the ships sailed away to France, and carried this young prince and many other captives with them.

"By that time the ships had been gone a year the natives began to be better reconciled to the Frenchmen; only they privately resented the carrying away their young prince, and did not well like to be governed at the pleasure of foreigners; however, the French, by their obliging behaviour, gained friendship among them; marrying, and living up and down at peace in several towns distant from each other, not above five or six in a place. They also joined with the natives in their wars against a king who lived to the northward, whom they routed and took many slaves and cattle. On this manner they lived some years with great security, neglecting their fort and spreading themselves all over the whole country of Antenosa; having families and many children, the natives observing them to increase, and remembering their prince whom they barbarously sent away, and seeing them thus dispersed, thought

* Essomeric is the name of the Malagasy prince who was carried off, by Captain de Gonneville, in 1505, and who eventually remained in France.

this the only opportunity to free themselves from the usurpation of foreigners. Hereupon they formed a plot to destroy all the white men in one day; and accordingly a Wednesday being appointed, it was executed; and they left not a white man alive in Antenosa.

"Not long after a French ship came there as usual. The Maurominters,* or slaves, who had a love for the French, got a canoe and went off to them and told them their countrymen were all murdered. The captain was much concerned at the news but could not revenge them; being glad to get safe away himself without once attempting to go on shore.

"They, having now nobody to interrupt them, put their government into its original form,† by choosing a king who was the nearest related to their former; for there was no other son but him whom the French took captive. Thus they lived several years, no French ship ever daring to come near them; but now and then an English ship came with whom they traded very civilly and honestly.

"After some years a French ship, homeward bound from India, was in great straits for water and provision, and could not get about the Cape. Port Dauphine lay very convenient for him, but he knew the natives were their mortal enemies, and the occasion; and therefore resolved to make use of this stratagem. He pretended he was an ambassador from the French king, and accordingly went on shore in great state and with proper attendants. Their ship anchored as near as they could that they might be within the reach of their guns if any violence should be offered to them. The natives, who came down to speak to them, asked if they were English or French. They told them the latter, but that they were sent by the French king with presents, and to make a peace with them. The king they had chosen, whom I mentioned before, had been

* *Maromita*, a servant; corruption of the French word *marmiton*.

† "*Government into its Original form.*" This is one of the touches which seems to indicate Defoe's editing. Compare numerous passages in *The Judgment of Whole Kingdoms*, for instance: "If David tho' design'd by God to be King, and anointed by the Hand of the Prophet, was not King till the People had chosen him, and he had made a Covenant with them, it will be hard to find a Man who can claim a Right, which is not Original from the People."

MAROMITRA POUNDING RICE.

CENTRAL MADAGASCAR.

dead about a month past, and no new one yet elected in his room; but the old queen (mother of the prince they had carried away some years before) who was still living, ordered the ambassador to be conducted to her house. His men carried a great many things of no great cost amongst them, but such as they knew to be greatly valued in this country; and which, he was assured, would please her. These he presented in the name of the French king; and she testified her satisfaction in receiving them, by entertaining the captain in the best manner she could invent. This day past in compliments, presenting, and ceremony, so far as their little knowledge carried them; the next day she sent for the captain, and told him they must both swear according to the custom of her country.

"The captain having agreed to the ceremony, it was performed after the following manner:—The holy Owley, which we have already described, was brought out, and hung on a piece of wood laid across two forks, all which was cut down on purpose, as was also a long pole to which the bullock was tied; this was provided by the queen, and being killed, they took some of the tail, and some of the hair of the nose and eyebrows and put them on some live coals smoking under the Owley; they then took some of the blood which they sprinkled on it, and on the beam it hung on; the liver also was roasted and a piece of that placed on it; two pieces were put on two lances, and these two lances stuck in the ground betwixt the queen and the ambassador; the queen swore first to this purpose:

"'I swear by the great God above, by the Four Gods of the Four Quarters of the World, by the Spirits of my Forefathers, and before this holy Owley, that neither myself, nor any of my offspring, or people, who assist at this solemn oath, for themselves and their offspring, will wittingly kill any Frenchman, unless they first kill some of us; and if we, or any of us, mean any other but the plain and honest truth by this, may this liver, which I now eat, be turned into poison in my belly, and kill me instantly.'

"When she had said this, she took the piece of liver off the lance and eat it; when she had done, the ambassador did the same.

"The captain staid on shore three or four days after this, sending on board what provision his people wanted. A firm friendship being now established between them, they strove who should outdo the other in civilities. The captain invited the queen to go on board his ship, and she very readily went with several of the chief of her people, and were treated by the captain with magnificence, and very much to her satisfaction. She returned on shore in the ship's boat, and after landing did not immediately walk up from the seaside, but stood looking about her. The Frenchmen, not regarding the presence of the black queen, stripped and swam about to wash and cool themselves; the queen could not help observing the whiteness of their skins, which being so different from theirs, she indulged her curiosity in looking on them, till seeing one man, whose skin was much darker than the rest of his companions, as he came towards the shore, and was going to put on his clothes, she espied a mole under his left pap; she went near to him immediately, and, looking more diligently on it, hindered him from putting on his shirt. She cried out she was positive he was her son who had been carried away, when a child, many years before, and had not patience to contain herself, but ran to him, crying for joy that she had found her son, and threw her arms about his neck. This surprised all the people, as well blacks as whites, till having recovered herself a little, she turned to them and told them this was her son, and showed them the mark. They who had known the young prince came near, viewed the mole, and were of her opinion that it must be he, and no other. The Frenchmen could not tell what to make of this, nor what might be the consequence, and began to be in fear.

"The captain, therefore, taking the man aside, advised him to give as cunning answers as he could to what questions they should ask him for their safety's sake. Now there were several blacks who spoke French, and by their means the Frenchmen as soon understood the queen as themselves did. She bid these ask him if he knew the country he was born in? He answered he could remember nothing of it, for he was carried from his native place when a child. She asked him, if he knew her? He said he could not pretend to say he did, but he

thought she resembled somebody he was used to when young.

"This confirmed them more and more in their opinion. As to his being white skined, that, they thought, might easily be from his wearing clothes during the time he was absent from thence; his hair was black like theirs, so that it was concluded it must be their prince. The queen was in raptures of joy for finding her son, and the natives were for choosing him king directly, he being the next heir. They asked him what name he went by? He told them he never remembered himself to be called by any other name than Samuel; but they gave him what, they thought, was his original name, compounded with Tuley; which signified his return or arrival. So they called him Deaan Tuley-Noro (Deaan, it may be observed, is an universal title of honour, signifying lord); and he was also further saluted immediately with the title of Panzacker (which is king) of Antenosa (see note p. 97).

"The captain, and other Frenchmen were surprised to find the man acted his part so well; not perceiving at first that he was in earnest, and was as ready to be made a king as they were to choose him; though it was in this heathenish place. He had here immediately under his command twelve thousand fighting men, and a fine, large, plentiful country to live in at his pleasure. The ship sailed away and left him; but as often as the French had occasion for what this island afforded, they used to put into Port Dauphine, and trade with him.

"About three or four years before we were cast away, it happened that a French ship being there, some of the men got drunk on shore, and quarrelling with some of the natives, told them King Samuel was not their lawful king, but he was yet living in France. This might have been of very ill consequence to him, but he took such care to prevent it as no one could blame him for. He sent for the man who spoke the words, and ordered him to be shot to death; he also commanded his companions to depart forthwith, and told them that if ever they, or any of their countrymen, came there again, he would take care they should never go alive off the island."* And this

* This story seems to be a garbled version of the curious career of Le Vacher, a native of Rochelle, who, under the assumed name of La

last adventure being known to our man, who advised us against putting into Port Dauphine, made him say, he was barbarous to all white people; but he had heard the story imperfectly, and from thence arose the mistake which proved so fatal to us.

By this conference between Deaan Crindo and King Samuel, I came to the knowledge of what happened to the white boys who were taken with me; so far, at least, as the natives knew themselves. As also, that the prince, who was seized by our people and made prisoner with Deaan Crindo, their king, was not, strictly speaking, his son, but Deaan Murnanzack, his nephew, whose right Deaan Crindo had usurped, as we shall find hereafter. But a word in their language signifying offspring, and comprehending as well grandsons and nephews as sons, was the cause we did not distinguish the difference.*

But to return to my own history. The fray between my master and me being over, by the intercession of Deaan Sambo and the other chiefs, he ordered me to be carried to the plantations to work there; telling me, "If I hoed the carravances and weeds together as I did at first, he would hoe my eyes out." I went away very contentedly, not caring where I was so it was where I could not see him, for he now became more hateful to me than ever.

Our plantation was about five miles from home, and he came not above once in a month to see us. He took no care for my maintenance nor the rest of his slaves, we must provide for ourselves. But then every man had as much land as he pleased to cultivate for his own use, and one day in the week to work for himself. When I first came I found it hard enough to keep myself alive; I was obliged on moonlight nights, after I had

Case, was elected a chief under the name of Andrian Pousse, and who, having married Andrian Nong, the princess of Ambolo, became the sovereign of that province. In the above narrative the historical facts are strangely mixed up with the story of Andrian Ramach who was carried off by the Portuguese from Tsiamban his father at Fort Dauphin and the legend of Essomeric.

* Word in Malagasy signifying "*offspring*" is "*zaffu*" in Drury's vocabulary. In the Hova dialect a *child* is "*zanaka*," a "*grandchild*," or "*descendant*," "*zafy*," and a "*nephew*"="*zanaka*nabavy."

done my master's work, to go into the woods and look for wild yams for my sustenance, and many times I could find no more than was sufficient for one meal; which, however, I was forced to lengthen out for the next day's support.

My fellow-slaves were, indeed, as kind to me as they could afford; they having plantations of their own. They gave me carravances and such victuals as they had, especially on dark nights and times when I could not shift for myself. I worked a night or two in a week in clearing and burning the weeds and things off the piece of ground I designed for my own plantation; but the speediest thing I could plant to produce myself food was potatoes. I lived this miserable life for two or three months, and it was a year before I was rightly settled and had plenty.

Honey is one of the most profitable and useful things this country produces, and they have it in plenty if they will take proper care. There is little trouble in managing bees, which are here very numerous; they will readily come to their hives, or tohokes,* as the natives call them, and in making these I took a particular delight. They are part of the body of a tree, called fontuoletch, first cut off about a yard long, and then split right down. Having dug out the middle with our hatchets (in which we are not very nice) we bind the two parts together in their natural position, so that the hive is a hollow cylinder. We leave a hole at the bottom for them to enter, and this is all the care that need be taken.

I had almost two hundred of these hives, but some of my neighbours used often to rob them. Once I caught a boy, following him by his track, and carried him to his father. About three or four days after I went to demand satisfaction for the honey he stole, and destroying my hives. His father made very few words with me, but gave me two hatchets, a hoe, and ten strings of yellow beads. I was very well contented with this, thinking myself as rich as a great merchant. But soon after I happened on a secure way of preserving my honey, the relating which will give a just notion of almost the only superstition these people are addicted to.

I have already mentioned the Umossees, who pretend to

* "*Sohoka*" = beehive. "*Fonto*" = tree or shrub.

be magicians, sorcerers, and fortune-tellers. One of these Umossees was on his travels from Antenosa into our country, and in his way took up his lodging at my master's town. My master had been that day in the woods to see his beehives, and found a great many of them robbed. He returned in the evening in a very great passion, threatening to shoot whomsoever he should catch stealing his honey. This Umossee coming in this juncture to pay his respects to him, and hearing his complaint, told him he could give him somewhat that would effectually prevent his honey from being stolen, but he was afraid to tell it him because it would kill that person who ate the stolen honey. Deaan Mevarrow said he did not care if they were all killed. In the end they agreed the Umossee was to have two cows and two calves if it effected the business, and was to stay to see the success.

The next morning he goes into the woods and singles out a tree called roe-bouche;* we have no such-like in England, nor is it much to the purpose, for I suppose any tree would have done his business as well. He goes to the eastward of this tree and dug up a piece of its root, and then he goes to the westward and dug up another piece of the root of the same tree; he takes the eastern root and directs Deaan Mevarrow to rub it on a stone with a little water and sprinkle the water among the bees and honey-combs in the hives, and if any one steals the honey and eats it, in a quarter of a day (for they reckon not by hours) they will swell and break out in spots like a leopard from head to foot, and in three days they will die. This pleased Deaan Mevarrow, but, then, says he, "How shall I do when I want to use my honey for myself and family?" Says the Umossee, "I have here a remedy for that in my hand, which is no other than a root of the same tree, but dug to the west, and when you go to take your honey only rub a little of this on another stone (not the same) with water and sprinkle the hives, then will the eastern root have no power. But if anybody has stolen your honey, and finds the effects of it, and you have a mind to be merciful and save his life, give him some of this western root, which he called

* Probably "*Voafotsy*" (*Ravinala, Ogilby*).

vauhovalumy,* or root of life;† it will take off all the swelling and spots, and restore him to health."

All this was mighty well, but the business was to try if it would answer all these fine pretences of the Umossee, which Deaan Mevarrow was very eager to know, and therefore, having sprinkled his hives with the eastern root according to directions, he proposed it to several to try it, and he would give them an ox for their pains; but nobody offering themselves, he ordered it to be cried about the country, and by this means it came to my ears. Now I had before observed the simplicity of the people on these occasions, and that these Umossees made a property of their ignorance to cheat and impose on them. I knew there was nothing else in this, and that it had already the effect desired by terrifying the people, and having a great deal of honey myself, I thought if I could by any means pretend I had the secret it would preserve mine. I, therefore, sent word to my master that I would try it, provided he would communicate the secret to me if I survived the experiment. He very readily sent for me, and agreed to it, promising me over and above a great reward.

I went with my master and several other people to the hive, which was sprinkled with the poison, as they call it, and taking the honey out by handfuls I eat it before them, asking them if they would partake with me? They said they would not touch it for a thousand cattle, making several grimaces in the mean time, and dreading what would befall me for my presumption. When I had filled my belly and cloyed myself, my master would have me home with him to be ready to have it expelled, but I chose rather to go to play with my comrades, by which means I had time to think of some way to deceive them. As luck would have it, being in the fields, I espied a calf sucking a cow, and nobody in view, so I tied up the calf with my lamber, and milked the cow into my mouth as long as the cow would give milk; this and the honey together had the desired effect, for it began to swell me and rumble in my

* "*Vaho*" = a plant; "*Veloma*" = may you live.

† *Menach Tanhetanho* is an oil made of a plant, in the country language called *Tanhetane;* and by us Tree of Wonder; and in Latin, *Ricinus* (*Ogilby*).

belly that it might be heard. Away I went to my comrades, who, seeing my belly swelled and hearing the rumbling, advised me to run home, and cried out I was poisoned. I pretended to step behind a hedge on some occasion, but it was only to beat myself with nettles. The pimples and redness raised from this did the more affright them, for there appeared on me all the signs and symptoms of poison, which the Umossee had before described, and to complete the deceit, you may be sure, I did not fail heavily to complain and cry out; hereupon some ran before me, and others helped me home.

My master had prepared the water with the vauhovalumy, or root of life; the people, terrified at the danger I was in, flocked to the house, pitying me and admiring the great learning of the Umossee, who did not himself perceive the cheat. Well, I drank the medicine, and after lying down three or four hours all was vanished and I was well. The vauhovalumy was esteemed a great medicine, the Umossee a very great and wise man, and did not a little value himself upon it, repenting that he had parted with the secret so cheap, saying, he would have twenty cows for it of the next who wanted it. Deaan Mevarrow, to gratify him, bid him choose his two cows and two calves out of all his cattle in the cow-pen; which he did, and departed. My master, on my promise of secrecy, disclosed both the roots to me, and the manner of finding and using them; for the pain I had suffered, and the hazard he believed I underwent, he gave me a cow and a calf. I then thought I had made a very good day's work.

When I returned to my plantation, my neighbours and fellow-slaves having seen the terrible effects of this poison, desired me to put a mark on all my hives, that when they went out a honey-thieving they might not be killed by happening on any of mine. This was the thing I aimed at, and accordingly I put a white stick before every hive, and never after this lost my honey. Nobody would go near my hives for fear my bees should sting them, and their stings be of more dangerous consequence than those of others.

I, having now a cow and a calf, had milk of my own, and was as rich as my fellow-slaves, besides the gain I made

of my honey by selling forty or fifty gallons a year to other people for hatchets, beads, &c., who make toak with it, more especially against their circumcision and other feasts.

I lived thus about three years, which, with two years and a half before, made almost an apprenticeship in this country. My master came one day to see how we went on, and taking more than ordinary notice of my manner of working, he at length told me I must go home with him and keep his cattle, which were near the town. This was much less work than digging and cultivating his plantation; however, I was pretty well reconciled to it, since my own plantation was likewise so much improved, but he providing for me now, and my honey being safe I was not much concerned at my removal. So away I went, driving my own cattle, which were now increased, having a cow and calf besides two heifers. My household furniture, too, was not so much but I was able to carry it away myself at once, yet I was as rich and had as much as other people of my condition, and more than many of them.

I built me a house and a cow-pen for my own cattle in less than two days. Now was I in my first station again, looking after cattle, the hardest of my labour was (as I said before) every other night bringing home either a tub or a callabash four or five miles full of water; but considering I was a slave, it was as easy living as I could expect.

I had not continued long in this last station before a common calamity reduced us to miserable circumstances. The epidemical evil of this island is their frequent quarrels with one another, and the very cause so many of them are sold to the Europeans for slaves. This is a dangerous and destructive misfortune to a people otherwise good-natured and well inclined, who have wholesome stated laws for determining disputes and punishing crimes, of which I shall give an account in a proper place. But what I have observed is that the supreme king of any country has seldom force enough to bring the lesser chiefs in his dominions to answer in a judicial manner to the wrongs they do one another, or the mistakes and errors committed by chance, but they fight it out, making slaves of, impoverishing, and destroying one another, after the

manner I am now going to relate; in which I myself was a grievous sufferer.

Everything seemed happy and peaceable. No foreign enemy for a long time disturbed us. But what I took notice of when first a slave was my master's and others stealing their neighbours' cattle, and their neighbours doing also the same by them, for they were equally addicted to this kind of thievery. So that it could not easily be known who was the aggressor in the present quarrel. But one day when I and some others went about five or six miles to water our cattle, having two men armed with guns to guard us as usual, it happened in our going home that, though the greater number of them went on slowly, grazing as they passed along, some of the milch-cows ran homeward before the rest, wanting to be sucked by their calves. The men, knowing me to be light of foot, desired me to run after and stop them, that they might be kept in a body, but they being got a great way off, it was some time before I could stop them. When I turned about I was surprised to see one of our men shooting into a body of men who drove the cattle a contrary way, and running from them toward me they soon espied me, and the cattle with me, and ran after us. Hereupon I left the cattle and fled as fast as I could home to my master, and got there the first of anybody. Puffing and blowing, being frightened and out of breath, in imperfect exclamations I told him an army had taken our cattle, and one of our men, named Roy'nsowra, had fired and killed a man, but I could not tell him who the enemy were nor on what account they did it. While my master and the rest were talking with me in came two or three more, who said it was Deaan Chahary and his brother, Deaan Frukey, two of Deaan Crindo's sons. It seems our master had been discovered stealing three of Deaan Frukey's cattle, and this they did out of revenge. All was in confusion and hurry at once; every man taking his arms, Deaan Mevarrow bid them follow him, which they were as ready to do as himself to lead, for it was a general loss. All the milch cows and home-kept cattle were gone, and now away go all the men in pursuit of them, except some old and incapable persons. Amongst others I was broke too, having lost my cow and

heifers. My calf, indeed, was left at home bellowing for its dam, as did everybody's else; between whom and the crying of the women and children there was a most confused and frightful uproar.

Deaan Frukey, who then was, or pretended to be, the injured person, lived within two or three miles of our watering-place, but they drove our cattle a great way more to the northward to Deaan Chahary's town, which was better fortified, and more capable of being defended from the assault, which they justly expected we should make against it. Our people, notwithstanding the passion they were in, and the speed they made, yet followed them with great circumspection; having spies running softly before, by whom they found their enemies were entered the town with their booty. Our people, not being provided with strength enough, and having no time to call in the help of their neighbours, did not attempt to assault Deaan Chahary's Town, but silently and undiscovered turned off and went about five miles further, where they kept all their breeding cattle. These they took, it being now late in the night; the few keepers they had were at a distance and fast asleep, knowing nothing of the matter; so they drove away the beasts without any noise, and came homewards as fast as possible. We looked out all the morning, expecting them every minute to return. At length we espied them with a vast large drove of cattle, containing as many, or more than our own, being above five hundred. We all thought they had recovered their own, and I, more especially, was thinking how I should kiss my cow for joy of seeing her again; but we soon perceived they were strangers, and I, not being with them, had no share in the booty.

My master and several others, after they had divided them, killed some oxen. We made a jovial feast, and some of our people sent me presents of meat. The next day my master sent me away to look after the cattle as before, and himself went to repair some breaches in his town walls, by putting in poles cut down on purpose, and made preparations for a war. But he had not patience to stay at home, and see if his enemies would come to give him any new disturbance, though the reprisals he had made on them might have well contented

him, being more than he lost. Nothing would serve him but in two or three days' time he would go and surprise his enemies' town by night, and left his own unguarded, and had just such success as so precipitate a conduct deserved. For the very morning after they went on their expedition, as I and others were watering the cattle, and carefully regarding them, lest they should run towards their own home, which was nearer than our town to the watering-place, about twenty men rushed out of a thicket of bushes, and leaped upon us like so many tigers at their prey. I and three or four boys had time to start out of their clutches, and run for it; but they soon came up with the rest, carrying them back, and all the cattle and other slaves who were with them; while some followed me, holloaing, yelping, and threatening they would kill me if I did not stop and yield myself their captive; but, turning about, and perceiving I gained ground of them, I ran on for a mile and half at least before I came to any place to shelter myself. At length I got to a wood, which I knew, where I soon lost them, and they returned back to their companions, who marched off with their prisoners and cattle. I, perceiving them gone, hasted home. When I entered the town the women immediately flocked about me, for they saw by my countenance, and the confusion I was in, that some evil had happened. I soon made them sensible of the loss, and they as soon reflected on their husbands' ill conduct, who, to follow the dictates of a blind passion, and revenge themselves on their enemies, would leave all that was valuable to themselves unguarded, to become a prey to those very enemies, who, they might be sure, had spies out to give notice of every opportunity which might be of advantage to them.

Deaan Mevarrow returned about evening, when, for his welcome home, the news of this, which happened at sunrising, was told him. I also understood the expedition they went on had been fruitless; for though they arrived at their enemy's town an hour before daylight, yet so vigilant were they in sending out spies every way night and day, that they discovered our people, and alarmed the townsfolks, who came out and met them. And all that was done, as I could hear, was only scolding at one another, like women, with a "You

began first," and "You gave the first occasion," &c.* Deaan Mevarrow began to fire a little at them at a distance, and they returned it, but without any execution on either side. A kinsman coming soon after daylight to Deaan Frukey's assistance, Deaan Mevarrow thought best to retire, but not without telling them, "If his kinsman and his people had not come, he would have had all his cattle again in a few hours." To which they answered, "That they would not only keep his cattle, but that their own, which he had lately carried away by surprise, were by this time in their own possession again, as he would find at his return home." And so in truth he found it. At which he was heartily vexed, but we had killed a pretty many of them first, and stocked ourselves with provision. He vowed revenge on his uncles, and accordingly provides for another enterprise, which they set out upon in three days after. He asked me if I was willing to go with them. I very readily embraced the offer, for there was safety nowhere now, and it was as little danger with them as at home. So he furnished me with a gun, cartouch-box, and powder-horn, &c., and I commenced souldier.

We sallied out of our town just as it was dark, for we had a great way to go, Deaan Frukey, with all his people, having deserted their own town as not defensible, and moved to his brother's, which was many miles further to the northward. We marched very swiftly, but silently, never speaking to one another but in whispers. My skin appeared white, they thought it might be seen at a distance in the dark, and thereby

* "So the warriors start, shouting and singing their war songs, marching until they get sight of the enemy, and come so close to them that the hostile parties can hear distinctly one another's voices, when a halt is called. Then one party asks, '*How do you?*' the other answers, '*Just as you see us,*' or '*Here we are.*' The other says again, '*Shall we fight*'; the answer is, '*Yes! let us fight,*' and then they commence firing. Should any one fall by the enemy's shot, his fellow warriors near him take to flight. The enemy run quickly to the fallen men, spear them, and rob them of their guns and spears and clothes, and everything else they may have with them at the time. . . . Wars of this kind are much enjoyed by the Sakalava, for there is but little life lost" (*A. Walen*, on the *Sakalava*).

discover us to our enemies' spies. They, therefore, made me daub myself all over with mud.

We arrived two hours before day near the town, and sent two men, who knew it well, to go round it and search for breaches or weak places in the fortifications. They returned, having discovered two breaches, as also the private way, which is always provided for the women and children to escape to the woods by in case of a surprise. Near this place we laid an ambuscade of thirty men, who were not to fire or make any noise, only to seize the women in their flight. Our army was divided in three parts. Deaan Mevarrow with his attacked the most difficult breach of the two in the walls; a chief man of his the other, and Deaan Sambo the gate, in whose party I was, for my master would not take me with him, thinking I could not well bear to tread on the thorns in the fortifications.

There were three gates, one within another. The signal for us to attack was the firing of the first gun, which was when Deaan Mevarrow and the other chief had secured the outside of the breaches. It was a quarter of an hour we waited in expectation before the gun was fired. The townsmen were immediately in arms, and almost as ready as we, for they secured the inner gate at the time when we entered the outer, and came furiously on towards us, but we drove them back. However, they maintained the other a long time, till Deaan Mevarrow had, with much difficulty, entered through the breach. He had one of his principal men shot in the belly just before him, which so enraged him that he leaped down, and the rest followed. About the same time we pushed vigorously those we engaged with, entered the town, and immediately heard the outcry of the women, who were surprised by our ambuscade, and almost all taken. The men got off by a breach of their own making into the woods, and left us the town to plunder and burn, which we did not fail to do. I got some cotton, wooden platters, and spoons. We found here a great many of our cattle, and looking about I espied my cow, and now thought myself sure of her; but see the ill effects of too great security. We had now a great booty of slaves and cattle—the latter we drove out of the town before

us, neglecting to secure them with a guard before them, thinking we had entirely defeated and dispersed all our enemies, when, in truth, they were increased, and kept in a body in the woods, observing our motions, and watching an opportunity for their advantage. They soon perceived the cattle defenceless, and had nothing to do but to turn them out of the way we put them into, and drive them a little into the woods, where we lost them all again as soon as we had got them. For marching to regain them our enemy appeared in a formidable body, firing at us, and even offering us battle. Here they killed us one man. We had missed several of our people before, while we were in the town; and searching about found three of them wounded, and four of our principal and stoutest men killed. This very much afflicted Deaan Mevarrow, and all the rest, and abated their courage, so that they thought of nothing but retiring with the slaves they had taken, and getting out of the reach of their enemy as fast as they could. Accordingly, they left the plain open road we came by, and went through the woods, a most wretched way, for ten miles or more, full of thorns and briars, and perpetually in fear of ambuscades. However, we stopped to make a bier to carry our wounded men upon, and then marched on, but with great circumspection, thinking every bird which stirred was an enemy in ambuscade. After we were through this long wood we still went by unpractised ways, so that it was just dark as we got home. It is customary, let the success be good or bad, for the chief to set down with his people before his own house. The women soon flocked about him to know the news, and, notwithstanding the prize of slaves we brought with us, here was but a melancholy scene, for the wives, relations, and friends of the men who were killed made great lamentation. However, some calves were killed, and we refreshed ourselves after our fatigue, as well as we could, every man at his own home, and being wearied, laid down to sleep, but before daylight we were awakened by the firing of a gun. Our enemies, by our conduct the day before, found we were dispirited, and resolved to give us no time to recruit. So they followed us and attacked our town, as we had done theirs; but I think they did not behave with so much judgment and good conduct as we did at

their town. For the first thing we did on the alarm was to order a party to secure the wives, children, and valuable slaves, in which we succeeded happily, and conveyed them safe out of the town to their hiding-place. We defended ourselves as long as we could, but not with so much resolution as we should have done at another time; yet we retired with little loss, and left them the town to plunder as we had done theirs. There was very little of value for them, the women carrying off what their haste would admit of; and as for cattle, there was none but a few calves, whose dams they had seized at first; and they were in so much haste that they could not drive them away. So they killed them, and carried as much of their carcases away for food as they could conveniently. They never attempted to go in search for the women, but they called and told us, "We should have no rest till they had their wives and children again." We told them, "We would have our cattle again, and keep their wives too." They seemed pleased with this revenge on us, and it was no small satisfaction to our people, though they were defeated this time, to find that, notwithstanding the disadvantage they took us at, we were, at least, their match.

But Deaan Crindo, our king, had by this time the news carried him, who immediately undertook to reconcile us, and accordingly sent messengers to both parties to know the cause of the quarrel and the demands on each side. Deaan Mevarrow sent word he was ready to oblige the king, and would live in peace with his uncles if they would send him all his cattle again; and Deaan Frukey, and Chahary wanted their wives again, and said, "They would return what cattle was left alive of ours, but they had killed a third part, and refused to make up the number," so that the king could not persuade Deaan Frukey to make up the number of our cattle, nor us to send them their wives without them. Our master sent the king word that "All the force he had, joined with his sons, should not oblige him to restore their wives and children on other terms."

These haughty answers Deaan Crindo resented, and was resolved, by force, to reduce them to a compliance, and in order thereto, musters an army of a thousand men, and

designed to come to Deaan Mevarrow first. Now Deaan Crindo could not, on these occasions, raise a great army, because there was a dispute always subsisting between him and his nephew Murnanzack, whose father was Deaan Crindo's elder brother, who, dying when his son was young, and his country invaded by an enemy, this uncle took on him the charge of the government, and when possessed of it would never lay it down. Deaan Murnanzack was not only a gallant man in war, but also of as fine accomplishments as this illiterate country could produce, as we shall see hereafter. He was just, honourable, and exceedingly generous and affable. He had three brothers, who were lords, judges, and chiefs of towns, who together could make up an army not much inferior to their uncle's; besides, he was very much esteemed and beloved all over the country. Now, in case of a foreign war, they all readily joined to oppose the common enemy of their country, as we have seen them do against the kings of Merfaughla and Antenosa; but amongst themselves they always regarded each other with jealous and watchful eyes; therefore Deaan Crindo could bring no greater an army against us than was consistent with the safety of his own and his sons' towns.

Deaan Mevarrow had notice of this design against him by a friend of his in Fenno-arevo, who ran from thence to our town by night, and was back again before daylight undiscovered. My master had a cousin, with whom he had an intimate friendship, and whose father was as potent a lord as any in Deaan Crindo's dominions; to this uncle, whose name was Mephontey, did he fly with his people for protection. We soon packed up our (little) all, which we saved from our enemies. My whole stock of provision and household furniture worth carrying away was about a gallon of carravances, a mat to lie on, a hatchet, and little spade to dig wild yams. We wanted no hoes now, that work was at a stop in this country. All our plantations, and most of the produce laid up in little storehouses, we now left to our enemies, or whomsoever had a mind to do as they pleased with them. In half a day we arrived at Deaan Mephontey's town, who treated my master with great civility, and assured him of his protection, and that he would

defend him and his people to the last extremity. The chiefs had houses given them, and we common people built for ourselves in any part of the town where we could find room. I made a very small and slight one serve my turn, for I did not know how soon it might be burnt.

Deaan Crindo was with us in three days' time, and encamped before the town. He went to Deaan Mephontey, desiring him "To deliver up Deaan Mevarrow and all his people, and bid him detain them at his peril." To which Deaan Mephontey sent a resolute answer, "That he would protect any strangers, who were good people, and fled to him for relief when they were in distress, much more would he do for friends and relations; and if Deaan Crindo would have them, he must get them by force; for he would defend them to the utmost of his power."

Deaan Crindo made preparations to attack the town the next morning, and we to defend it. And in order thereunto, the women and children were sent away in the dark to the woods; not all into one place, but at distances in small companies. I was ordered with a guard to see my mistress safe, and some other women and slaves with her, which I did; and after marking the place to find it again, I returned to the town, where we lived well that night, dressing and eating beef, &c., for we had some cattle of our own, such as I was sent to keep at first, breeding cows, heifers, and oxen, which were a great way off when Deaan Frukey seized the milch cows, but we wanted water, which was a great misfortune to us, our enemies being so near we could fetch none all the day before.

The next morning we were all up by break of day, and every man at his station, as it was appointed the day before. Mine was behind my master, who had two guns; one of which I was to keep and load, while he fired with the other. It was broad day before our enemies began the attack; they fired so briskly upon us, that for almost a quarter of an hour we could not see them for smoke; but when their fire abated a little, we returned it as hotly upon them. On the second onset they came nearer to us, and the lances began now to fly at one another; one of which went through my lamber, and scratched me; I was a little scared at first, but soon recovering my spirits,

I returned them the lance over the fortification, in the same manner it came to me. The cattle were very troublesome to us, several being wounded, ran up and down and disordered the rest, like so many wild bulls. We fought thus for four hours, with great fury on both sides, till Deaan Crindo finding he could not enter the town, called off his forces, and retreated to his camp. Deaan Mephontey and Deaan Mevarrow were for sallying out, but Deaan Mephontey's son, Batoengha, with some difficulty, persuaded them against it, suspecting an ambuscade. We had several people killed on both sides, and some wounded, whom we conveyed out of the town after the fight to their wives. We buried the dead under the fortification, and sent out spies to observe the enemy, who brought us intelligence they were very quiet, regarding nothing but killing cattle, and fetching wood to dress their meat. When this intelligence was repeated, and we were sufficiently assured they would give us no more trouble that day, our people killed and dressed beef also, but we were parched up with thirst. You might here have seen men with their tongues hanging out of their mouths through excessive heat. This want of water is the most intolerable of all calamities, a painful misery not to be expressed in words. It may be remembered that when I first came into this country I had felt the anguish for almost four days, and know by dear experience that hunger is not to be compared to thirst; but I had relief sooner than my neighbours, for my master sent me and two slaves out of the town with provisions for our mistress, and those with her; where by the way we found a little water.

I had some difficulty to find the place where I left her the night before; however, at length we came to them, whom we found in great concern for our welfare. My mistress was sitting on her legs crying, for hearing the guns firing, and at length, ceasing all at once, she thought the town was taken, and her husband killed, but the sight of us dissipated all her fears. I cut down some boughs of trees with large leaves, which served very well for dishes and plates, and cutting the roast meat I brought on my back into pieces, I served it up to my mistress. I don't question, but some will remark, that she had not so much delicacy as we see in fine ladies of her high

rank and distinction in Europe, yet I dare say she enjoyed as good a repast, and as much to her satisfaction, as any of them would have done in her circumstances. When I had served her, I divided the rest among my fellow-servants, her women, who accompanied her, and my orders being to stay with her, I sent the two men away. They had brought a good deal of raw meat, and in the night I could make a fire to dress it, which could not be seen at any great distance through so thick a wood, when in the daytime the smoke might have discovered us. I went at a distance, and dug wild yams, which were very acceptable for their moisture, this place being destitute of water, but as much as they wanted them they would not venture to dig for themselves till I came, lest the noise might betray them to the enemy.

At night we sat very socially round the fire, while I entertained them with the story of the fight, and my own danger. I also roasted my meat and hung it up in trees out of the reach of wild dogs and foxes. When it was time to go to sleep I told them I had no bed, having forgot my mat in the hurry. They laughed at me for this, so we lay down very close together all night, but very innocently.

We arose by day break, and listened very diligently for the noise of guns, but heard none, and in a little while the two men came again to us, and brought us more meat. They told us that Deaan Crindo had sent a threatening message to Deaan Mephontey to tell him, "That if he did not oblige Deaan Mévarrow to come out to him and submit to his decision of the quarrel between him and Deaan Frukey, that he would humble their haughty spirits by force, for he would there remain with his army till he starved them, and also guard the watering-place, that they should not come at it." Deaan Mephontey returned as resolute an answer, "That he did not fear starving, having provisions enough of all sorts, a great number of cattle, and houses enough for them to live on for three months; besides which he had strength sufficient to force his way out of the town whenever he had a mind, and, therefore, advised Deaan Crindo not to put it to the hazard of a trial; but to depart contented with the repulse he had already met with."

After the men had told all they had to say they returned

ATSIMO WOMAN.

(*Sketched by Captain Oliver in* 1862.)

home, and we all went to digging of yams; even my mistress too would make one amongst us, so I sharpened sticks for them, and they pulled off their lambers because they would not dirty them; some of which a rag-woman in England would scarce have taken up. My mistress's, indeed, was a fine silk one of divers colours, and very large, hanging almost down to her feet, and a fringe at the bottom.* I lived very idly and merrily the few days I remained here; there were about a dozen of them, besides my mistress; and, indeed, I did not care how long the war lasted, for it was easy living, my provision being given me all the time, and no work to do. As to the hazard of the war, I did not trouble myself about it, I had nothing to lose but my life, and that I did not much regard in the circumstances I was in, and the despair of ever getting home, but we had not yet seen all the miseries of a civil war.

Every morning we used to listen very attentively for the noise of guns, when at length came one of the slaves alone without meat, and having seated himself (as is always the custom of everybody, slaves more especially, before they speak) he then told us Deaan Crindo was gone, and my master had sent for us home. This was joyful news, we sat down to breakfast together, sung, and were as merry as so many beggars. My mistress hastened to be gone, for she was uneasy till she came to her husband, whom she no sooner saw than she fell on her knees and licked his feet, and he saluted her after the manner of the country, which is by touching their noses together.

Now the reason of Deaan Crindo's sudden departure was on his hearing that Deaan Murnanzack had seized six hundred of

* The most important part of the native dress is the *lamba* or mantle, which is worn by both sexes and all classes. Some are of native silk, woven by the inhabitants, which are rich, durable, and beautiful in appearance, presenting a series of broad stripes throughout their entire length, amongst which bright scarlet, crimson, purple, orange, and white are the most frequent colours; it is also ornamented with a rich variegated border and deep and curious fringe. It is worn over the shoulders, its folds hanging loosely, reaching nearly to the ankles, with the ends drawn together in front of the wearer.

his cattle, he might have taken them all, but he did this only to begin the dispute. We stayed, nevertheless, a week longer at Deaan Mephontey's town till we were well informed how the matter stood between them, and that we were sure we had no more to fear on that side. Deaan Crindo, we were told, had sent to Deaan Murnanzack, to know on what account he seized those cattle, and whether he meant to take Deaan Mevarrow's part? and received for answer, "That he did it to begin his claim on him for his right of dominion; and which, he supposed and expected he would as unjustly dispute with him, as he had unjustly usurped it."

This was a mortifying stroke, and happened at an unlucky juncture. Deaan Murnanzack was always a formidable competitor, and was looked on as such, whenever he should think proper to assert his right, and he chose this opportunity (no doubt) on purpose, when Deaan Crindo had weakened himself, by affronting Deaan Mevarrow, Deaan Sambo, and their friend Deaan Mephontey. Crindo was soon sensible of his error, and endeavoured to soften matters by sending messengers to them all, to tell them, "That what he had done was only to correct his grandsons, and what was necessary to restore the peace of the country, which they and his son Frukey had violated; and though he began with the former, yet Frukey had fared no better if he had proved refractory; he, therefore, hoped they would consider his good intention, and not break friendship with him."

Three or four days after this we departed from Deaan Mephontey's, not without returning many thanks for these great demonstrations of friendship and hospitality. We went home (homeward I should say) for the way we found and the place of our late abode, but not a house left to put our heads in. Our plantations too were destroyed, and the very barns and store-houses burnt, so that we had nothing to live on but what the woods afforded, and a few cattle among the richest and chiefest men; who were, in truth, very good, and communicated to their poor neighbours.

The town being so utterly destroyed as not to be repaired, Deaan Mevarrow resolved to build a new one, and going about to look for a proper place, at length a wood was found so thick

that a dog could not creep into it. This, therefore, was more than half fortified, so all hands went to work to make a vacancy in it; the men cut down the trees, bushes, and briars, and the women and children dragged them away, so that in three days we cleared a pretty large space to build our houses in, but it was summer time, and we were not in so much haste for houses as for defences against an enemy. We, therefore, set about fortifying it with bodies of trees, which we cut about sixteen or eighteen foot long; these we stuck into the ground so close together that no creature could get between them. We thought ourselves not secure enough with one row only of these poles or trees,* but we made three or four one within another, round the whole space of the town, leaving no vacancy only a small and private passage for conveying the women, children, and slaves through in case of an enemy's approach; and this was so contrived as not easily to be seen or known by strangers. We made only one gateway or entrance, which was narrow too, and defended with four prodigious thick and strong doors, one within another.

The walls being finished we had nothing now to do but every man to build a house for himself and family. We, who were slaves to Deaan Mevarrow, went all hands to work to build his first; some cut wood, others fetched grass to fill up the sides with, while I and about thirty more went a long way, I dare say ten or twelve miles for annevoes,† which are the leaves of a tree like a cocoanut tree; these we split and cover the house with at the top. It makes a thatch handsomer and stronger than any in England. But these trees were so scarce and far from hence that single men could not go often enough in any

* "Ampatre within hath neither Rivers nor Water, onely by chance some Ditches or Ponds, yet boasts an exceeding fertility, being full of Wood, with which the Inhabitants erect their Villages surrounded with Poles and Thorns, so that it is impossible to come into them, but through the Gates.

"The Natives addict themselves extraordinarily to Robbing and Pillaging of their Neighbors, not onely of Goods, but also of their Wives; for which reason great Feuds arise amongst them, which oftentimes breaks into an open Hostility" (*Ogilby*, after Flacourt).

† *Ravina*, a leaf. The leaves of the *Ravinala*, or traveller's tree, or those of the *Raofia*, are here referred to.

reasonable time to fetch the leaves; and as great a number as we were we went twice for as much only as would cover one house.

When we had finished our master's we went about our own hutches, and as at Deaan Mephontey's so here also, a small one served my turn; for, notwithstanding our strong walls and fortification, I did not know whether we should be able to keep them long, as it proved soon after. So I made my hut no bigger than to have room convenient to lie at my length, and make a fire in, if, by fortune, I should get any victuals to dress.

About a week after we were settled in our new town, a messenger (or rather an ambassador) arrived from Deaan Murnanzack, with twenty people in his retinue. His business was to sound Deaan Mevarrow's inclinations, and, if there was any room, to desire his friendship. He soon found there was reason to hope for success, and therefore delivered his message the first night he came; to which Deaan Mevarrow answered he would consider of it, consult his people, and give him his answer the next morning. In the meantime he gave him a slave's house to repose himself in, as is the custom on such occasions, and sent a bullock for him and his attendants. He next sent out messengers to all the chiefs and freemen to come and consult with him on a matter of great importance. I was present and saw this assembly, Deaan Mevarrow and his brother, Deaan Sambo, being seated; the principals placed themselves on either hand, and the other freemen on each side of them.

Deaan Mevarrow opened the consultation by telling them "That Deaan Murnanzack had sent a very honourable messenger to him to desire his friendship and assistance. We must not forget," says he, "that Deaan Murnanzack was a serviceable friend to us in the quarrel we had formerly with Deaan Termerre; therefore, we are indebted to him on that score. Chahary and Frukey will always be irreconcilable enemies so long as we have their wives and families, and you agree with me not to deliver them unless they will return all the cattle they took from us, which they obstinately refuse. Then Deaan Crindo is their father, and will be partial, notwith-

standing his pretences to peace and doing justice; but how he has lately used us is too fresh in memory to need repetition. The justice of Deaan Murnanzack's claim to the dominion is, I suppose, indisputable; whether Deaan Crindo may not justify himself on the posture of affairs in assuming the authority is what we will not enter into the consideration of; but it is of consequence to us to consider whether Deaan Murnanzack has force enough to go through the dispute, and protect us and other friends who may join him. This requires the deepest examination; the chance of war is doubtful, and you have families, slaves, and cattle to lose as well as I; debate it sedately, and let me have your resolution, which shall be mine."

They argued with one another a good while, debating the case which was most to their interest, and considered the dangerous circumstances they were in, and that it was most likely they should be safest in joining with Deaan Murnanzack. They then agreed that one of them should declare the result of their consultation to the Deaan. He, therefore, spoke in the name of the rest, and said, "They desired him, if he agreed to their opinion, that he would conclude a solemn friendship with Deaan Murnanzack, and they would faithfully observe and support him to the utmost of their power."

When I saw the manner and form of this assembly, our Parliament in Great Britain * run strangely in my head. I

* "*Cæsar* and *Tacitus* describe the ancient *Britains* to have been a fierce People; zealous for Liberty; a free People; not like the *Gauls*, govern'd by Laws made by the great Men, but by the People. In Cæsar's Time they chose Cassivellaunus and afterwards Caractacus, Arviragus, Galgacus, and others to command them in their Wars, but they retained the Government in themselves. That no Force might be put upon them, they met arm'd in their general Assemblies, and tho' the smaller Matters were left to the Determination of the chief Men, chosen by themselves for that Purpose, they reserved the most important to themselves. When the *Romans* had brought them low, they set up certain Kings to govern such who were in their Territories: But those who defended themselves by the natural Strength of their Situation, were still govern'd by their own Customs. *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* inform us that the *Britains* and *Saxons* had no Monarchs; and that our Ancestors had their Councils and Magistrates as well here as in Germany" (*Defoe*).

thought this very like it, and though I was but a boy when I went from home, yet my father keeping a public-house, I remember often to have heard gentlemen disputing with one another about the power of the prince to command the people to do what he pleased without consulting them, while others said a king had no power without a Parliament. Then they would dispute about the original of parliaments, and the power they had, and who brought the use of them first into England; in this, too, they seldom agreed. Some said the Saxons, others it was since their time, while many were of opinions different from either of these. Now I think this might be decided without reference to authors and histories. That the origin of parliaments was long before the Saxons or Romans either; for I imagine that England and other countries too were once like Madagascar, without the knowledge of letters and coined money; it was then impossible for princes and lords to command people, or dispose of them contrary to their inclinations or interest; for I suppose those princes to be like my master, who had not, nor could have, any separate army or interest; but when any neighbour craved their help,* or enemy had offended them, they assembled before the house of their chief, and there they consulted what measures were proper to be taken for their safety and interest. If war was agreed on, the same men took their arms, and the lord headed them, as my master did here; and when they returned every man went home to his family. Thus the people are themselves their own army and defence, and the lord could not oblige them to do those things which the greater part did not think convenient to do, because he had no army to force them. This was, without doubt, the condition of all other countries

* "For when in old Time the weaker were oppressed by the stronger, the People presently betook themselves to one more excellent than the rest for their *Protector*. And it was his Part to relieve the distressed, and to make such Provisions that common Right might be done indifferently betwixt all Parties. And in making of their Laws they had the same Prospect, as in the Choice of their Kings. The Thing propounded, was an equal and a common Right, without being so qualified. If under the Administration of some one Man that was just and good they attained that End, they were well contented there to rest. . . . In *Cæsar's* time they chose" (*Defoe, op. cit.*).

once, and must have remained so if people had not betrayed themselves unwarily into the power of one man, by giving him wealth and authority to raise an army,* keep it in pay himself, and use it at discretion for their defence, with which he wickedly insulted and abused them. But in the state of nature, and the beginning of men joining in societies, this was the form of government; and with due reverence to the learned, I think we need not turn over many volumes to find the original of British parliaments,† for they are earlier than all their histories, or even letters themselves; and as to their power, it is founded on the strongest basis, reason, and nature.

The alliance being resolved on, the next morning Deaan Mevarrow sent for the messenger, and told him he had consulted his people, and they unanimously agreed to assist Deaan Murnanzack, and desired that their friendship might be bound with the usual solemnity. So an ox was brought and killed, the liver roasted and put on lances, and Deaan Murnanzack's ambassador, and a chief deputed by Deaan Mevarrow, eat the liver between them, repeating the imprecation, that they wished it might prove poison, and a further curse might be sent by God upon them who first broke the alliance.

This solemn ratification being finished, the ox was divided between the ambassador's people and ours who were present, and eat it together; after which he and his attendants departed. And now Deaan Mevarrow repented the building of this town, for he would have gone and lived near Deaan Murnanzack, whose country bounded on Merfaughla on one side, and was within ten or twelve miles on the other side of Fennoarevo. He had three brethren, Deaan Mussecorrow lived near him; Deaan Afferrer, on the mountains of Yong-gorvo,‡ of whom we shall have occasion to give a large account; and Rer

* "When we speak of curbing a King, who is in Arms, in order to oppress the State, it is evident that it imports an obliging him by Force, either to renounce his tyrannical Courses, or force him to leave the land" (*Defoe*, in *The Judgment of Whole Kingdoms*, p. 53).

† See introduction, p. 22.

‡ Mountains of Angavo, marked on Drury's map, where Flacourt places Ambohitsmena or Montagne Rouge, *i.e.*, Red Hill, see p. 140.

Mimebolambo, the youngest, who lived but five miles from us to the eastward; and this last being so very near us, we were ready at hand to join in any enterprise, or to succour one another; yet we did not think ourselves safe, and, therefore, we took care not to let Deaan Crindo know our intentions, till we had been out on one expedition, and then we better secured ourselves.

But the course of my history leads me to relate Deaan Murnanzack's attacking Deaan Mundumber's town, where he took three hundred cattle and a great many prisoners—women and children—for it is never the custom to take men; if they cannot get away from their enemies they are killed. Among the captives were Deaan Mundumber's wife, and his only child—a daughter. After they had plundered the town they were going to burn it, when Deaan Murnunzack hindered them, and marched into the plain, waiting to see if Deaan Mundumber would rally and give him battle. They appeared, indeed, but at a great distance, not daring to come near him; which, when he saw, he marched homewards, yet not without doing a very generous action, which was sending back Deaan Mundumber's wife and daughter to him, telling her he did not not mean it as a compliment to her husband, but in respect to herself and family, she being niece to the king of Yung-Owl,* one of the greatest princes of the island. Nor did he do it to give him an example of returning the like, for he had no wife, and was well assured by the help of God, who would favour his just cause, that it would not be in his power to take his family.

When Deaan Crindo heard of his son's town being taken, he thought it was high time to revenge them, and accordingly musters a great army, threatening how he would ruin the country, destroy the men, and make slaves of their families. He also sent to our master to join him, which he peremptorily refused, saying, "He would not join with his professed enemies against his experienced friends;" but did not declare his intentions of being against him. They both sent to Deaan Mephontey, but he refused to be concerned on either side, and

* Youngoule, at the mouth of the river Youle, now known as the river Manarivo, near, but south of the modern town Morondava.

was as good as his word; for his dominions, extending to the river Manderra, the bounds of Antenosa, he was apprehensive that the Antenosa people might take the advantage of his absence, and plunder his towns and country.

When Deaan Crindo marched from Fenno-arevo he did not leave his towns quite destitute of men, for fear of Rer Mimebolambo and Afferrer; but he never suspected us. While he was gone Rer Mimebolambo and Deaan Mevarrow joined their forces, and went out to see what they could get. They surprised three towns, the men making a very weak resistance; so they brought off about two hundred cattle and fifty slaves. My master was discovered by my being—a white man—with him. This was unexpected to them, and Deaan Crindo's wife immediately sent him word of it, and that she was in fear of us; to which he answered, "He would soon despatch the business he was about, and then he would be sufficiently revenged of Deaan Mevarrow"; but we took care to be provided for him.

On the way homewards the cattle and slaves were divided equally between Deaan Mevarrow and Rer Mimebolambo; and they then resolved that it was absolutely necessary to live together in one town. Ours was the strongest, but not large enough; theirs was much larger, and they had also a great many empty houses, which were left by some who went away when the wars broke out; so it was agreed we should go there. We lost no time, for the very same day we went home, we packed up our goods, and marched away to Merhaundrovarta,* which was the name of Rer Mimebolambo's town, and deserted our own in a fortnight after we had built it.† Thus were we driven about like wild boars, which in this country

* Morondava. (?)

† "The Sakalava have a practice of deserting their villages when a death occurs in them, and removing to a distance before rebuilding their frail huts" (*Sibree*).

"It is little trouble to the Vezo to break up their homes in this sudden manner, for all the property of a family can be carried on a man's shoulder or a woman's head. Their wretched huts in the sand are of very little account, and it gives them no trouble and little concern to leave them" (*A. Walen*).

change their holes every day, and go from one wood to another, for fear the wild dogs should find them out. And we were not only forced to secure ourselves against the surprises of a body of our enemies, but living so near each other, three or four or half a dozen of their men would often lurk privately in the woods near towns, to see if they could catch a woman, child, or slave of ours straying out, or on any business, as digging wild yams, &c., so that we had very seldom anything else to eat but beef, and those who had it of their own gave to them who had none.

But I had an employment here which maintained me handsomely; and it seemed as if Providence had pleased to appoint it on purpose for my support in this time of scarcity. The people of this part of the island do not care to eat beef which is not killed by one descended from a race of kings. Now my master, just before the war broke out, growing high and proud, and having none but himself and his brother to do these offices, they were sometimes obliged to go five or six miles to kill an ox. He at length considered that these people have a great opinion of all white men, and more especially taking me for the captain's son, whom they looked upon to be the same as a king, I was thought of honourable descent enough to be preferred to the dignity of a butcher, though in truth I did no more than cut the throat of the beast, and they cut him up themselves; for this I always had my fee, which was a large piece of meat. My master, as well as many others, saw that this was a very ridiculous custom; but he also knew that the vulgar are not to be violently opposed in their old ways, be they ever so foolish and absurd; and had Deaan Mevarrow peevishly refused to do this office, and called it a silly humour of theirs, such an abrupt innovation would have been attended with almost a general desertion, for they would have gone and lived under other lords. He, therefore, contrived to substitute me in his place, and by that means did (as all wise governors will) seemingly conform to custom to oblige the people, yet by an ingenious expedient shifted off from himself a mean and troublesome office. (See note, p. 144.)

The next morning the cattle were shared—my master had ten, his brother six, and the principal men one apiece, some

others one between two, and we slaves one between four. Now I wanted not beef, for I was often employed while in this town to kill the beasts; nevertheless I was obliged to agree with my partners to kill ours, for they wanted it though I did not. I lived pretty well here, often changing beef for potatoes, &c., with the townspeople; and here we heard of the ravage Deaan Crindo made in the country. The people, who were allied to Deaan Murnanzack and lived in small towns, left their habitations, and went with their families and cattle beyond Deaan Murnanzack's toward the sea, where they were under his protection. When Deaan Crindo came to the deserted towns he burnt them and utterly destroyed the plantations, pulling up everything by the roots, as if his design was to cause a famine in the country.

Deaan Murnanzack was all this while with his brother Mussecorrow,* marching towards them, and had such good intelligence, that he came under cover of a wood undiscovered, almost upon them. They were then making wretched havoc of a very large plantation of potatoes, and some other adjacent ones. He divided his army into four parts, resolving to attack them on every side, while they were about their accursed business, himself boldly showing his face in front, whom they hurried to oppose, while the other parties, firing each from their post, killed a great many, and put the rest into confusion. However, they made a vigorous resistance, retreating and forcing their way to a wood, where it was not practicable to follow them. Here Deaan Crindo rallied them, and put them in good order, in proper divisions, each one under his own or one of his sons' command; for his three sons, Mundumber, Chahary, and Frukey were with him. They were a great many more in number than the other—some said near twice as many—which Deaan Murnanzack knew very well, as also his uncle's courage; but he was, nevertheless, resolved to engage him, and, though he had time enough to have retreated, yet he only marched back into the plain to have good ground and time to form his army, which he did, and waited for his enemy's coming to attack him. It was not long before they fell on very furiously, and were as hotly received, firing and

* A chief named Andrian Machicoro is mentioned by Cauche.

throwing lances, till Deaan Murnanzack, perceiving his brother Mussecorrow's division began to give ground, he was resolved to make one vigorous push himself, and, throwing away his gun, he, with six small lances in his hand,* challenged several of his principal men to follow him, if they durst, into the thickest of the enemy's body, which they very gallantly did; but he, being foremost, ran like an enraged lion, and, in spite of all their fire and flying lances, came to close fighting hand to hand with his lances; and those gallant men with him following his example, drove all that division of their enemy's army back, and put it into utter confusion; and they, not being able to abide their fury, ran for it. They broke into the very part where Deaan Crindo himself was fighting, who had been struck through with a lance by one of Deaan Murnanzack's companions, had he not generously himself prevented it, desiring them not to kill his uncle. He left his people to pursue them, and himself ran to assist Mussecorrow, who at the same time made a bold push, being ashamed to be outdone; nevertheless, they had been ruined had not Deaan Murnanzack himself came to their assistance in that juncture; but they were soon in one general rout and disorder, running towards the woods, where Deaan Murnanzack followed them to keep them from rallying, and carried on the pursuit till he saw they were dispirited, and making towards their own home to recruit themselves.

Deaan Crindo, finding he could do no good with Murnanzack, was resolved he would not be idle, and let Deaan Mevarrow and Rer Mimebolambo join him and make him stronger, so he

* As early as 1639 Albert de Mandelslo relates of the Malagasy:—"Their men are brave and martial, and very dextrous in the management of their lances, darts, and pikes, which always lie near them, even when they are at work in the field, they being trained up to the use of arms from their infancy. Persons of note seldom stir abroad without having 25 or 30 darts, or small pikes carried after them ty'd up in a bundle. Their bows are 5 or 6 foot long; and tho' the strings be loose, they have a slight of shooting with great strength and activity: And as to their javelins they dart them with so miraculous a dexterity that they will hit a bird at 40 paces distance." Since the introduction of fire-arms on the coast the use of bows and arrows seems to have ceased.—Ed.

resolved as well out of policy as revenge to attack us; but he had no sooner declared his intentions, and prepared for it, than a friend of Mevarrow's came out by night, and acquainted him with it. On this information he consulted with Rer Mimebolambo for their defence; and in order thereunto, considering there were so many cattle in town as would disturb them in an engagement, he proposed sending some away to Deaan Murnanzack's, where the other people had secured theirs. Deaan Rer Mimebolambo would not send any of his, but my master, willing to have something to live on in case they should lose what they had here, picked out forty beasts; some of our richest men also sent some six, and some more or less apiece—in short, there were in all fourscore and eleven beasts separated from the rest to be sent away. I perceived what was going forward, and would have hid myself, and been out of sight, for I did not know whether I should live so well there as here, besides it was a great number for one person to take care of; but there was no remedy, nobody else would send a slave with me, and my master would spare no more himself than one, and he looked on me to be the most capable of any one man to do it; so, ordering six or seven men with arms to guard and conduct me, I took my leave of my friends and acquaintance, and went forward.

We were obliged to go round about by the tedious, unpractised ways, and to look out diligently for fear our enemies should intercept us; but we had chosen an opportunity when they were dispirited by their defeat, and suspected nothing of any such prize being near them; so we arrived in two days at Deaan Afferrer's town on the hills of Yong-gorvo,* where we stopped two days to rest our cattle, and were going on the third in the morning when we heard a shell blow. This put the town and country in an uproar, expecting enemies. They ran immediately to defend the passage up the hill (for there is but one) when presently came two messengers from Deaan Murnanzack to Deaan Afferrer, to tell him that he was at the bottom of the hill coming to visit him. When my guardians saw them join, and perceived it was Deaan Murnanzack, as soon as the usual civilities were over between the two brothers,

* "*Angavo*," a generic name signifying "lofty."

they went to Deaan Murnanzack and told him that Deaan Mevarrow had sent some cattle, and a man to look after them, to be conveyed somewhere under his protection. "He bid them thank Deaan Mevarrow for his friendship and assistance, and tell him his cattle should have the same care taken of them as his own, for he would put them together." After they had delivered up their charge they took their leaves of me, and returned.

When Deaan Murnanzack came to see the cattle, and found me left with them he seemed surprised. He asked me if I was cowkeeper, and said he never heard of a white man being put to look after cattle. I told him it was my master's pleasure, and that I did not dispute it with him but must do it as well as I could.

Three days after Deaan Murnanzack went homeward, ordering three servants to assist me, and we followed in the rear; we had also with us above a dozen other people who carried provision, bedding, &c., for their masters. When we were down the hill I found a new scene,* the soil was of a quite different colour and nature, yellow clay with stones, which made my feet uneasy, being used before to a sandy country, but I was soon hardened to it. The trees also were different, straighter and taller. This was the place I had often wished to see for the wild cattle of which I had heard so much. I soon found the large tracks they made through the woods, which rendered it easier driving mine than in other woods.

* "Eight miles from Fort *Dauphin* lies a tract of land call'd Vohitsmassina, that is, the *Lucky Mountain*, by which the *Portuguese* formerly had a fort, with several dwellings below it, and gardens with all sorts of provisions, but were at last surpris'd and massacred by the Natives. Four miles from the before-nam'd Fort lies a naked Mountain and other neighboring Hills, oftentimes digg'd by the *French*, in hopes to find Gold or Silver; but chiefly by a place where seven clear Springs rise one by another, and make a brook, wherein they found many Stones mixed with a clay or yellow earth, full of white and black clods shining like Silver; but being beaten and cleans'd was found too light. Thirty fathom above the springs, the Grass and other Plants have chang'd their natural Verdure into a fading yellow, which proceeds from the Sulphurous Vapours of inclos'd minerals; but on the top of the Mountain, all things remain fresh and green" (*Ogilby*).

About noon we rested in a grove. The whole country is very beautiful, and finely watered with springs and rivulets. They showed me some wild cattle standing under the trees. I was eager to see them nearer, and, taking a gun in my hand, went toward them, but within thirty yards I was obliged to creep on the ground, hiding myself as well as I could with the grass, which is very long. When I came nearer to them I saw three other bulls running directly toward me; their eyes sparkled with fire, their ears pricked upright, and foaming at the mouth. It was supposed they fled from some hunters. They put me into a great fright, insomuch that I thought of nothing but firing at them to frighten them away; but as luck would have it, I shot, and wounded one so that he fell. Notwithstanding he was down, I expected the others would have assaulted me, and therefore laid flat on my face, not daring to stir for fear, till, hearing no other noise but my companions holloaing at a distance, I looked up and saw they were all run away but the wounded one kicking upon the ground, whom I durst not go near till they came and put us both out of our pain by cutting his throat and extolling me for my courage, and being an excellent marksman. See how contrary to one's expectation things happen! I thought of being laughed at for my cowardice, and was applauded by mistake and chance for bravery.

While they were cutting up the bull, I could not forbear looking with wonder at those which they called wild cattle, and which are, indeed, so here; but they are so like our English cattle in every respect that I could see no difference: nor since I have been better acquainted with them have I discovered any, except that I think the horns of our bulls in England are somewhat shorter, and they roar louder than these wild bulls. When we had cut up our beef we roasted some, and were not a little pleased with the thoughts of our masters leaving us because we should not spoil their sport, and we happened on better luck than they, and had beef to eat sooner, as also some ready to dress for them at the place appointed to meet at night. You may be sure this bull-beef could not be comparable in goodness to that of the tame; especially after it had run so much before it was killed. These wild cattle sometimes give

the hunters a chase of several miles after they are wounded, which makes the flesh very indifferent meat, especially if it is a bull. But people are glad of what they can get when they are in want, for these wild cattle are a great benefit to people in remote parts, who in necessitous times come here on hunting; though they are also as plentiful in another vast tract of forest land of some hundred-miles in extent; of which I shall have an occasion to give an account, and also of their supposed original. The place where we baited at noon and lay this night were agreeable and delightful groves, and so, indeed, is all this country for several days' journeys, abounding in wild honey, wild boars, good, wholesome, and pleasant fruits of the trees and earth, and these in such variety that men may not only find enough to satisfy their hunger and thirst, but even to indulge their luxurious appetites without the pains of cultivating and planting: and many do so live.

Among the most useful and pleasant fruits of the earth is the faungidge,* which I here first saw; my companions taking me with them into the thickest woods. They look first for the place, which is a tender creeper, or wild vine taking hold of a tree, or anything which stands next it, twining round the body, even to the top of the tree, and dividing itself into several branches, like a vine. I never observed any fruit it bore, and was amazed when they told me it was the root of this which produced the faungidge; and yet, instead of digging at the root, they went about half-a-dozen yards from it round about, and struck the ground with the end of their lances to find where it sounded hollow, and there digging, they took up the faungidge. The root spreads a great way under ground, and there are but few branches of it, which bear the faungidge: so that it might be endless tracing it from where it appears above ground. The first which I saw dug here was not much

* "There are divers sorts of *Ignamoe* roots (*i.e.*, yams), which they call with the general name of *Ouvi*. Some grow to the thickness of a man's middle, which being hang'd on a pole, two *Negroes* have enough to do to carry; but the ordinary ones are as thick as a man's leg. . . . One kind, which grow of themselves, *Fanghits* (Faungidge), have roots with a Rosie coloured outside, and exceeding large" (*Ogilby*, after Flacourt).

less in bulk than a gallon runlet. It is red and smooth without, the coat as thin as a parchment, the inside is white, and has a milky juice; it eats as soft as a water-melon, but has no seeds in it; it is both meat and drink, very wholesome, and always eaten raw.

The verlaway * is of the same kind, very little different in every respect, except that the skin of the latter is thinner, but so tough that it must be pared with a knife. There is another sort of this, called the verlaway-voler, which we look on to be unwholesome. I once saw a man who had eaten some of it, and it made him swell and sick; but by giving him some melted fat to drink he brought it up, and was relieved. This verlaway-voler is easily known, it being more beautiful to the eye, and the leaf which springs from it is very indifferent.

The next day I saw excellent sport; for Deaan Murnanzack not leaving us, as he did the day before, in the morning we saw one single bull alone in the midst of a large plain; he, having a mind for a little diversion, ordered us to stop, while himself and two more drove my cattle toward the bull, who no sooner saw them approach, but he fell a-roaring and digging up the ground with his horns, as if he expected some other was coming to fight him; when he perceived cows he showed an inclination to be better acquainted with them. The Deaan and his companions concealed themselves under cover of the cows, and letting them graze a little, and then driving them a little, till the wild bull was amongst them; and just as he was putting his nose to a cow's tail, Deaan Murnanzack, from under another cow's belly, stuck a lance in his flank; away he ran with it, but not till he had another stuck in his side. And now they had room for the sport they aimed at, which was not unlike what I have heard described of Spanish bull-feasts. Several now came into the chase. He ran near a mile outright before he stopped and turned to the pursuers, which is what they always do when they find themselves sorely wounded; and then let every man take care of himself, for it is a dangerous encounter, as it was here. The beast was out-

* "The *Vohalaye* (Verlaway) grows as thick as a man's head, with an ash-colour'd shell; and is eaten both raw and boyl'd" (*Ogilby*).

rageous, and, turning upon them, ran directly at the man who threw a lance at him, while another from behind threw another; then the bull turned again, as he always does, to the man whom he sees throw at him, and the hunters being divided to take him which way soever he turns, and also keeping a good distance, as well to prevent hurting one another, as to give him scope to play in, they at length killed him; but this sometimes proves a tragical pastime, and I have seen a man killed at it.

This night we lay in a wood, where we found faungidge enough; thus we lived deliciously with only what the country yielded us. I tied up my calves every night to keep my cows from straying, and was forced to rise two or three times to see that none of my cattle got among the wild ones; for whenever they do it is troublesome catching them again, they running whenever they see the others run, and almost as fast.

The next day at noon we halted at a spring which comes from the highest hill in this island, called Vohitch-Maner, or Red Hill—vohitch * signifying hill or mountain. I drove my cattle into a fine valley, where there was good grass; and there came among them a wild bull and mounted one of my cows. I had a great mind to try to kill him, though I almost shook for fear. They are terrible creatures to anybody's view who is not used to them, and it was this fear was the cause of my ill success; for, covering myself under another cow, I made such an awkward stroke at him, that I wounded one of my own instead of him. However, as it did not prove mortal I concealed it; not so much for fear of any danger I was in from the anger of my master, as that I knew I should have been laughed at for wounding a tame cow instead of a wild bull.

We set up early this afternoon in a place conveniently situated near good water, and then we went out to see for wild honey and faungidge. I had the good fortune to meet with a large hole in a hollow tree full of it. I made a fire, and with a brand smoked the bees out. I next cut down a vounturk † to make a vessel like a tub to put my honey in.

* "*Vohitch*"=prefix "*Ambohits.*" See note, p. 129. *Ambohitsmena.*

† The "*Vounturk*," possibly the "*Voantaka*"—most likely a species of *Adansonia* or baobab. Flacourt describes it under the name *Anadzahé.*

This vounturk is a tree or plant (for I don't know which to call it) of a very singular shape and nature. It grows upright about fifteen or eighteen foot high, small below, big in the middle, and small again above like a nine-pin; at the top are two or three branches bearing very long leaves. In the spring they have blossoms, but I never saw any fruit come to perfection; the outer bark is whitish, like old lead, and full of thorns four or five inches long, which are, however, very easily struck off with a lance, with which also we cut the bark round, and the tree immediately falls down, not being able to support itself. We then take away what length we want, and with our hands pull out the spongy substance on the inside till within three or four inches of the bottom. Thus we make a vessel light and easy of carriage, and in one of these I put my honey. The liquor of this vounturk is good drink, and even fit to boil anything in when water is scarce. I found also some faungidge. When I returned I went to Deaan Murnanzack and made him a present of some honey, which is a compliment our lords always expect.

It was now night, and they were going a beef-hunting. When they go out on purpose to kill the best beasts they always choose a dark night. They admitted me on my request to go with them, bidding me wash myself, as they all did, that we might not smell of smoke nor sweat. I took two lances as usual, but they made me leave one behind me, lest two might rattle in my hand. These cattle feed only in the night, and if they did not take all these precautions they could never surprise them, for they are always on their guard, snorting with their noses, and listening after enemies. We can hear them bellow, and the bulls roar a great way off, by which we know where they are, and always go round till they are directly to the windward of us, for if we were to go toward them with the wind they would soon scent us. When we had got the wind and cattle right a-head, and were within hearing, we walked very softly and circumspectly, pulling the top of the grass with our hands, as near as was possible mimicking the noise a cow makes with biting it. They no sooner heard us but they were all hush on a sudden; no bellowing nor grazing, but stood still listening, which when we perceived, we all

stood likewise without speaking or walking, only three or four who understood it best kept pulling the grass. When the cattle had listened till (as we suppose) they took us to be some of their own kind, they fell to grazing again, and we walked cautiously on nearer, mimicking them. Deaan Murnanzack made me keep behind, for fear they should espy my white skin and be frighted; he also gave me his lamber to cover myself with, which was black silk, so that if I had been in their view they could have seen nothing but my face, for the grass is above knee deep.

We got at length amongst them, so that one of our men (as he told me) with some grass in his hand, and under the cover of a bush, took hold of the dug of a cow and felt whether she gave milk; but finding she did not, he concluded she was not lean, and therefore stuck his lance into her belly and pulled it out again, making no other motion himself. The cow which is wounded will, perhaps, give a spring, and make a noise as if another had run her horns against her, and this is so common among them that the herd is not disturbed by it, so that our people stuck three or four on this manner, and left them, with intent to come the next morning and track them by their blood, it being dangerous to come near them in the night; for when they find themselves sorely wounded they run away from their companions, and will assault any man they see. They are commonly found lying dead, or fallen in some wood or shelter of bushes as if they endeavoured to hide themselves. Just as we were going away, and I had returned Deaan Murnanzack his lamber, a calf, who was mortally wounded, began to make an uproar, and, running about, made the herd suspect something, so that away they ran, and the calf came directly at me, and beat me backwards. I catched hold of his leg and called out for help. This accident caused laughter, and was a jest upon me for calling for help against a little calf. However, they took him, cut him to pieces, and carried him away, of whom we made a good supper. I have heard that, notwithstanding the wildness of these cattle, the cows will stand still to have their dugs handled, and in the night have been milked into a horn; but as I never did this myself, I cannot vouch the truth of it,

yet I have been so often told it I cannot help crediting it.

We made no haste homeward, for ourselves and cattle too lived as well as we could there, so that though we kept going on, yet we made several days more of our journey than we should have done. A day or two after this beef-hunting we had an accidental sport of another kind. Our dogs had got the scent of wild hogs in a thicket,* and were very busy running round it, but could find no entrance for a long time. At length they discovered the path the swine had made, and attempted to enter the wood by it. The passage was defended by a huge boar, who fought the dogs, and wounded one of them dangerously. Now what with the dogs and the swine here was such a yelping, grunting, and squalling, that the woods rang with their noise, and one would have thought all the hogs in the island had agreed to meet here and fight out their quarrel against us.

We laid down our burdens, and some of us went to them armed with guns and lances. Deaan Murnanzack shot the boar who wounded his dog, when immediately came another and defended the entrance, fighting so resolutely that neither the dogs nor ourselves could come at the herd who were within till we made a way behind them with our hatchets and lances, and then fired and killed some of the stoutest who turned to us. The others seeing themselves attacked behind, fought their way through the dogs, and ran for it, with the dogs after them. It is impossible to describe in words the noise there was, especially after several were wounded. We found seven dead, besides some so hurt that they could not make off. We picked out only one of the fattest, for there are very few will eat them. I did not dare to take it, because of my office of killing beeves; and the eating of swine's flesh is so contemptible, that I should have lessened my dignity, and been degraded from my office, which, whatever mean thoughts I might have as to the honour of it, I had too great an opinion of its value to part with for the gratification of my

* "The Woods swarm with wild hogs, which do great hurt to the rice fields. The flesh of these, but chiefly of the Sows and young ones, is esteem'd a choyce dainty" (*Ogilby*).

appetite in one meal, for they are curious to a punctilio in this case, that if the daughter of a king is married to any one that is not of a king's family, their children are not admitted to the honour of killing beeves, though the father be a freeman, and a chief amongst his neighbours.*

Every evening we used to sit down near the prince, and talk of one thing or another to pass away the time. Now it is the general usage of the princes here to converse very familiarly with everybody, yet do they, nevertheless, preserve a decent state and distinction. The people all over the island have a religious regard to dreams, and think that the good demon (for I know not what name else to give to the inferior deities, which they say attends each to its respective Owley) comes and tells them in their dreams when they ought to do a thing, or to warn them of some danger, more especially after a sacrifice, and prayer made to God, and invocation of this demon. I very well remember the discourse this evening was on this subject. The next morning Deaan Murnanzack came to me as I was alone, and talked very freely with me about many things, particularly advising me to take what beef I wanted, and could carry, for we should have no more opportunities of killing wild cattle after this day. When I observed him desirous of conversation, I told him if there was anything in dreams, as some had said the night before, I should have a great deal of anger from him that day, having dreamed "that I was at my father's house with my parents and relations about me, my pockets full of gold, and they giving more. This, I said, did not only throw me into a melancholy when I awoke, to find myself naked in a wood, and a strange country, instead of my father's house, but it also gave me some concern, for that I had always remarked when I was

* "The people of the *Rohandrians* eat with *Rohandrians*: the *Lohavohits* with *Lohavohits*; the *Ontsoas* with their own tribe and never intermixedly, insomuch that no *Rohandrian* woman, married to an *Anakandrian*, will endure that her husband should eat with her" (*Ogilby*).

According to Flacourt the *Voadziry*, the highest class of the black race, were the only class of black people permitted to slaughter oxen besides the whites.

a boy in England, and also under my master Mevarrow, that to dream of plenty of gold money was a certain sign of anger." At this Deaan Murnanzack smiled, and answered, "I wonder that you, who but last night laughed at the talk of God's sending dreams by the good demons, should now be afraid of one.* However," says he, "I dare say you will be mistaken in this, for I don't know anything you can do to make me angry." I would not have my reader think I trouble him with this story merely for the sake of telling a foolish dream, but it proved the introduction to something very remarkable, and furnished us with a discourse the next evening worth repeating.

The next day we roasted our beef, and laid it to cool, in order to bind up in a burden, which we call an enter,† to carry at our backs. I had nothing to do but to provide for myself, and what with my beef and honey I was pretty well loaded, and as well contented, for I lived plentifully and deliciously; my honey also mixed with water made me a pleasant drink. This was the last day of our passing through these groves and habitations of the wild cattle, some of which they made another attempt to surround, more for the sport's sake than want of beef, and in this I, for want of knowledge, spoiled all their diversion by crossing the way they were running, which was towards the place where Deaan Murnanzack laid in ambush for them. This caused them to run another way, and put him into a furious passion at first, insomuch that he lifted up his lance, threatening to kill me, and I expected no less, which made me get away from him as fast as I could, and keep out of sight, dreading some such barbarous treatment as I had before received from Deaan Mevarrow. But this prince was of a more generous disposition, for when his passion was over he sent for me, and desired I would come in the evening as usual, and sit down by him, which I did. He then desired me to give him some

* Flacourt describes the "*auli*" of Dian Machicore, and relates how the chiefs of the black tribes believed after talking for hours to their *aulis*, &c., working themselves into an ecstasy, they would believe that these *aulis* appeared to them in their dreams.

† "*Entana*," the modern Hova term for burden.

account of the customs of my country, and particularly what god or gods we worship, since I seemed to have so little regard to theirs, and that I would be free and tell them what things I (who had been a great traveller) had seen in order to pass the evening away the pleasanter. And first says he, What God do you adore? On this the company drew round me, and I began. But I first desired them to tell me "if they did not know there was a God above the skies."* I could not say heaven, because there was no word in their language which signifies heaven; nor could I perceive that they had any notion of what Christians mean by heaven as the place of God's residence, and mansion of the saints after this life. They told me "there was a God above, the supreme one Lord of all other gods, demons or spirits whatsoever." "This very God," said I, "is the God we worship, for we know of no other inferior gods, nor do we pay adoration, or make prayers to anything else but this One, the supreme and only God, and think it not good to adore any other." "And do you not," said they, "make prayers and sacrifices, and call upon one of these guardian demons to assist you, and let you know the mind of God, and warn you of dangers and protect you? If your countrymen had such Owleys as we have, the good demons who are invoked when we sacrifice before them would have assisted you, and that night when you lay on the sands you would have been told in dreams of the danger, and been directed to escape before morning."

To this I answered, "That all good men in England acknowledge God's providence, and I think it was by the providence of God that I was saved from death, and why God did not think fit that the rest should save their lives is what I do not pretend to know. But I cannot conceive that your Owleys, which to me you seem to worship and pray to, should have a spirit or a god within them, and come in the night when you are asleep and tell you such things. I see they are wood and alligators' teeth, only dressed up, and I see and know how they are made, and I am sure other wood and other alligators' teeth are not living spirits to speak and see things present, much less things to come; and we think it abominable to pay

* *Lanitra*, the sky, heaven.

that adoration to anything which belongs only to God, since the great God Himself has forbidden us to worship anything but Himself."

Deaan Murnanzack listened to me with attention, and then turned to some of his people and reasoned a good while with them, partly vindicating me, and endeavouring to explain and argue with them on these Owleys, which I find since I had not a just notion of, but I was too young when reduced to this slavery, and had neither companions nor books to assist me, that I did not intend to make those remarks then which I could now do.

But to proceed. When the Deaan had done talking with them he turned to me and said, "I think it strange that you, who but this morning told me a dream of yours, and you saw it happened true as you expected, should argue against these Owleys. You mistake us. It is not the wood nor the alligators' teeth, but there are certain guardian demons who will take care of nations, families, and private men; * and if you have one of these Owleys, and give it the name of some guardian spirit, it will attend you. For how could you come by the knowledge this morning that I should be angry with you if one of these good demons had not come to you and showed it, and thereby gave you warning; and if you had not had this warning perhaps you might have been killed, though I did not design it. But men's passions are unruly, and I was provoked, though I say not this to reproach you, as if I thought you spoiled our hunting on purpose, for I know very well you did not mean any harm, only I put you in mind that you argue against yourself; besides, if the spirits of our forefathers or these guardian demons did not show men these things, how should they know them? No man could tell that I should be angry with you when you had not given me occasion, nor did you design to give me any, and nothing was done to expect any such thing. I hope you don't think that the great God Himself came and told you when these inferior spirits, of whom there are so many, could better come. But you said just now that the great supreme God had told you that you

* The *Coucoulampou:* invisible but corporeal demons who are like the family ghosts in Britain, the *Lutins* in France. (*Flacourt.*)

must worship nothing but Himself. Pray, did any white men ever see this great God above? Or does He come often, and talk with them, and not with us?" To which I answered that "No man ever saw God, but some of our forefathers did once, many ages ago, hear His voice when He came down and appeared to them in a cloud." "But," says he, "if this was so many years ago, and there is no such thing now, nor any man in the world living, black or white, that ever heard God's voice, or saw Him in a cloud, how are you sure it is true? And you say it is many ages ago. Things may be so changed or misrepresented from what they were when your first forefathers told them, that you cannot depend on their certainty." I was here at a great loss because they had no knowledge of letters, and therefore I could not make them understand anything of the Scriptures. I only told them we had a way of preserving the memory of things which they knew nothing of, and by this means, I said, we had an account of the beginning of the world, and of its being created by God, and that I could tell them a great many strange things relating thereunto, which they then desired to hear: and accordingly I told them that the world was originally dark, and a confused heap, and that God made the sun and moon, beast, fish, fowl, trees, herbs, and everything else. They still continued the first objection, and, as they thought, with more reason than before; "for," said one of them, "if you have a better way of keeping the memory of things than we, yet I am sure you can't have the knowledge of what was done before there was any man made to see it." To this I replied, "That God had revealed the knowledge of this, and a great deal more to some particular persons," which they gladly attending to hear, I went on to the creation of man, and then of the woman's being made out of a rib, which God took from him while he was asleep.* At this they all broke out into amazement and laughter, and Deaan Murnanzack said, "It was a plain untruth, and that it was a shame to tell it with a serious countenance. By this, he said, he knew all the rest was false,

* The fable of the Mahometans relating to Eve being taken out of Adam's ribs while he slept, was well known among the Zafferamini on the south-east coast of Madagascar, in Flacourt's time.

for if this was true a woman would have a rib more than a man, and a man want one on one side, and have fewer than on the other." Here I committed a great error through ignorance, which, however, I can't help confessing. I hope our divines and all good Christians will consider the circumstances I was in, and forgive me, for I had no more wit than to insist on the truth of it, and affirm what I had heard when a child from ignorant persons, "that a man had one rib less on one side than the other," and I had assurance enough to put the whole argument upon this issue, and offered to lay my life as a wager on it. The prince laughed at me, and refused my wager, but we had two women with us; one was very lean, whom they called and told her ribs, finding them equal; and then a man, and found the same. But they were not all of them convinced of the true number, not perfectly satisfying themselves, nor could I myself, in attempting to count them after them. From this time I perceived Deaan Murnanzack treated all I said on religion with contempt, and immediately resumed his former objection with more vigour, and said, "That to talk what was done before man was made was silly, and that what I said of God's talking with men, and telling them such things had no proof, and the things I pretended to know and talk of were only old women's stories. However," says he, "go on, and give us some further account of this God of yours who formerly talked with men." Then I went on with the Scripture story of God's wrath, and the flood which destroyed all men and beasts on the earth but those in the ark, and of Noah's taking male and female of every kind to preserve them. Here another objected and said, "If they had been all destroyed could not God who made them at first make more at His pleasure?" But I went on and told them of the rainbow, and that it was made as a sign to signify that the world should never be drowned again. Deaan Murnanzack objected, "That they had no memory of any such thing delivered to them from their forefathers; besides," says he, "if none but Noah with his sons and daughters were saved, pray was Noah a white man or a black man?" To which I answered, "Sir, I perceive you give no credit to what I say of this nature." He said, "There are a great many things

which I don't know, and shall be glad to be informed of, and would give credit to anything that a reasonable man can give credit to, but most of these things are nothing but old women's stories, and I am sure all white men will not talk as you do." These were his very words, which he repeated several times, and was the conclusion of the argument, and the evening's conference. It was no small trouble to me to find how the truth suffered by my weakness, but I was in some hope that Deaan Murnanzack, who was a man of great understanding, might consider that I was but a child when I left England, and therefore not well acquainted with the things I undertook to inform them of.

The next day we went forward directly, for we were now past all the wild cattle, and therefore Deaan Murnanzack hastened homeward. About the middle of the afternoon we came to a place where the road divided; here the prince halted, as I found, on purpose to take his leave of me, ordering two men to conduct me and my cattle to his cow-keeper. Here we parted, and we laid that night near the banks of a river which bounds Deaan Murnanzack's country, and runs into Madamvovo,* the great river which passes through Anterndroea. To this place where I was going all the cattle come to water. As we passed through the woods we met a company of men and women going to fetch water; they stopped and gazed at me with wonder, having never seen a white man; asking the men who accompanied me what I was? and where I came from? who roguishly told them: "They found me in the forest among the wild cattle, and were going to present me to the prince." I, to carry on the jest, ran towards the women, speaking some gibberish, and frightened one of them into fits; insomuch that the rest had much ado to recover her, for which I was afterwards very sorry.

This wood reached from the river about seven miles, without any break or plain till within a mile of the town. I was concerned to think what a great way I had to drive my cattle to water every other day, but it proved better than I expected, for there being eight or ten of us we took it by turns, so that it

* The river Maambolo.

did not come to each one's turn above once in sixteen or twenty days. Then there being no grass by the way there was no hindrance, and when they returned hungry they would go home fast enough.

The people here had never seen a white man before, so that I was a very surprising sight to them at first; but they were soon acquainted with me, and I became very serviceable, for whenever they had an ox to kill they were forced to go a great way for one of the royal family. This trouble I now saved them, and lived well myself by it. I was frequently sent for on these occasions, and had always my fee, which was four or five ribs to carry home with me, besides the leg roasted for my entertainment there. I seldom went without a boy to attend me, there being always some ready, because I was able to gratify them with some of my beef. I had also enough to live like other people, who are very free and generous in communicating something of whatever they have to their neighbours. When I came home with my beef I used to set on the pot, and send messes out to all my neighbours, which they did not fail to return whenever it was in their power; and it may be observed in the whole course of this history that all the people of this island delight in this free and good-natured manner of living.

When I was sent for the house was always put in order, the Owley dressed and placed in view. I was often employed to kill a sacrifice, as in case of a circumcision or a person being sick, and since I had the afore-recited conference with Deaan Murnanzack, I used out of curiosity to listen to their prayers, and once or twice I attempted to talk of the Christian religion. When I mentioned the resurrection of the body they told me: "It must be a lie; and to talk to them of burning in fire after this life was abominable, for," said they, "no man can feel after he is dead, and except we can see people raised from death, we will not give credit to it." I attempted to tell them of God's appearing and giving the Ten Commandments, but soon found it signified nothing, for they have the purport and meaning of all of them by nature.

Here are laws against adultery, theft, and murder, and they have such an esteem for their parents that they regard and

honour them even after death, and there is also a fine inflicted on a man who shall curse another man's parents. They never swear profanely, but these things they do, "because," said they, "it is convenient and proper, and we could not live one by another if there were not such laws, and therefore there was no occasion for the great God to speak these things." The Fourth Commandment, indeed, they do not seem to have any notion of, except that they allow their slaves one day for themselves, but they have no religious duties to perform; and when I used to tell them that we kept it holy because God rested on it, they said, "This was like the rest," and asked, "How I could tell what God did before there was any man?" And, indeed, I found myself sensibly grow into contempt with them for talking of these things, and was likely to get the reputation of a common, idle liar, so that I was forced to desist.

In short, I had no way to prove anything I said, and that failure of the rib in my conversation with Deaan Murnanzack was a mortifying stroke to me; and though I, at first, thought my ill success in the argument was owing to my own ignorance, yet I have had a great many scrupulous thoughts arise in my mind since; and sure I am that all was not owing to my weakness, for our divines have not furnished us with arguments strong enough: and I don't know but they would be hard put to it to prove those things themselves to these people, since miracles are ceased. Neither do I know what miracle could be now wrought to prove what was done before any man was born. They are here fools enough to be imposed on by the Umossees or conjurors, who, they think, do strange things; yet they do not imagine that they converse with the great God. They think, indeed, that there are spirits, which may be good or bad, who come in dreams, and tell these Umossees many things; yet they do not take them to be more pious or better men than others, though they imagine them to be more knowing. However, the awe which my education had fixed on me kept me from joining in any of their worship for fear it should be idolatry, and here was no such thing as persecution for religion ever thought of among them; so that I was entirely to think and do as I pleased so long as I did not affront them. I

have not forgot Deaan Mevarrow's threatening to kill me at first, but it must be observed there was nothing in that but a pride and ill-nature peculiar to himself, as appeared by Deaan Sambo's hindering him and reconciling us, without obliging me to join in the ceremony.

I had not lived here above six weeks before I heard that Deaan Crindo had attacked Rer* Mimebolambo's town and burnt it, killing two men, and taking some of their wives and children captive, with almost all their cattle. I was very much concerned at this news, notwithstanding that Deaan Mevarrow had several times in passion attempted to kill me; yet living so long in his family I could not but be affected with their misfortunes. We used to have here a great deal of flying news relating to their wars; one day an account of a battle fought, and the next day a contradiction of it; their reports being just as much to be relied on as some of our common newspapers at London, so that I did not regard them. Besides, we lived here at a distance in peace and plenty, and might, perhaps, hear now and then of the losses which our friends sustained; but feeling none of the miseries ourselves, they served us only for conversation, in which we, like coffee-house politicians, sleeping in security remote from danger, censured the conduct of our superiors, according to our several factious inclinations, for things we knew little or nothing of, or at most but by their external appearances, and those too from uncertain reports. Our business was to make our lives as easy and happy as our circumstances would admit of, and among the many things we found to divert ourselves with, one, I think, will bear relating, which was a project of my governors, and proved as profitable as pleasant.

There are in the remote parts of this country some people whose habitations are in secret places in the woods; they live easy, indolent lives, never coming near towns nor concerning themselves with any affairs of peace or war, foreign or domestic; they keep no cattle, lest their bellowing might betray them, and their value induce some evil-minded men to disturb their peace by robbing them; but content themselves

* The prefix *Tsimi* is common in Madagascar; for instance, the class *Tsimiambolohaky*.

with small plantations and what nature produces, which is indeed sufficient. They never trouble themselves who is lord of any particular place, or king of the whole. Deaan Murnanzack's cow-keeper, who was my governor, had in the former part of his time lived in this manner, and was therefore acquainted with some of their private settlements. He conceived that I, being a man of a singular colour, might be imposed on them for a prince of Murnanzack's family, they being very ignorant, and yet not more so than some vulgar people in Europe, who imagine that their princes are something more excellent or extraordinary in their make or shape from the rest of mankind. In short, the business was agreed on; I was to have one-third of what presents we should get, he another, and the persons who composed my retinue the other third. They procured me a fine silk lamber, two or three strings of gaudy beads for a necklace, and a gun to carry on my shoulder. My name on this occasion was Rer Mimebolambo, who, living the farthest off, there was the less hazard of a discovery, since no man among them had ever seen any of the family in their lives. Twenty men of our neighbours were my attendants, and we practised three or four days before we went, they waiting on me and calling me by that name and title, that every man might be perfect in the part he had to act.

At length we set out, and made a very grand and formal march, with shells blowing in the rear, as is the custom. We had about ten or a dozen miles to the place. When we came within half a mile my governor, and one to attend him, went before to acquaint them that Deaan Murnanzack's youngest brother, Rer Mimebolambo, was passing this way, and understanding there were people hereabouts desired they would spare him some provisions for himself and retinue. We halted till we thought he had delivered his message and prepared them; then we marched on in form and order. When we came into their little village I found the mat spread for me to sit down upon, and all of them, men, women, and children, crawling upon their hands and knees to lick my feet. My own people acted their parts exactly, showing me the same honour as was due to the person I represented; for I was no sooner sat down than one ran to fetch water, while another brought

a calabash to receive it, and held for a third, who washed my feet. I ordered my chief man (who was in reality my governor) to procure a house for me; there were but five in the place besides a few huts for their children. He pitched on one of the best, and left the owner to shift for himself.

They stood in admiration, having never seen any one command with such authority in their lives. The chief called the rest to him and consulted what present was proper to make suitable to my dignity. Some of them returned in a short time, bringing several gallons of Guinea corn, and more of carravances; but the old man did not come himself till near evening, when he brought four men loaded—two with as much honey as they could well carry, and two with as much carravances—which were placed before me. The old man sat down at a distance and, surprised with awe, in a trembling tone told me "He hoped I would accept his small present; that he had no more to command on this short notice." I pitied the poor wretch and cheered him up, telling him "I was well pleased; that this was sufficient, and more than I expected from him;" desiring him to sit and bear me company while my people went to some of his neighbours, for I sent them out some one way and some another, to get what they could. And whatever the people could spare I particularly ordered they should bring themselves and taste it, lest it should be damaged by the charms of the Umossee. The old man recovered his spirits in time, and began to talk very freely, saying, "It was no wonder that my father and brethren ruled over them, for God and the demons had made a distinction in us from other men. And if I had," says he, "met you in a wood alone I should have fallen down and paid my duty to you, for surely the Varzachars * (or white men) cannot be whiter than this young prince is." Thus he ran on, describing all my features, and praising me in his manner, for his tongue was set on running, and I could not tell what to say to him nor when he would stop. But, as luck would have it, a sharp man of my retinue came in, and in a

* These people, the *Vazimba* (Virzimbers), are supposed to have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the interior provinces.

Vazaha is the word applied to foreigners from over the sea; it does not signify "white" particularly.

drolling manner answered him, saying, "I don't wonder, old father, that you are surprised at the different colour, excellent features, and make of the prince; but you must consider, my good old man, that God has not made us equal, but He is pleased to distinguish those whom He designs for the government of mankind, by making them in such particular form and colour that no man can be ignorant of their superiority; for if all were of the same shape and colour people would choose one from among themselves, whom they thought most wise and valiant, to be their lord, king, and commander; and if they did not like him, perhaps they would go from him and live under another, or choose another from amongst themselves. But if God has made any particular man, or family, for princes, and has ordained that they shall be lords and masters of all mankind, you may be sure He has made them more excellent for beauty, and has given them such marks as every man who sees them must know them by, and immediately fall down and acknowledge their Divine right, authority, and power over them." "Ay, ay," says the old man, "it is true as you say; for I remember my father went once in two or three years to carry honey to Deaan Mernindgarevo, who was Deaan Crindo's father, and they say he was of a copper colour, but his hair was black like ours." "Yes," says the other, "he was a little different, and not much; but Deaan Mungazaungarevo, which was this prince's father, married a woman from Port Dauphine, and, it is said, she was a white man's daughter." "Yes, yes," says the old man, "there's something in that, indeed; but I don't understand these marks you mention of God's making in princes. Pray, are all princes of his fine colour and make? And has God marked them all for kings?" "I can't say," says the other, "but this is the whitest." In the interim, as I began to be tired with the dialogue, came some of the people, who were sent for, bringing their presents and licking my feet; and so broke off the discourse.

I found that my people had roguishly plotted this drollery amongst themselves to deceive these poor peasants, and carried it on with admirable ingenuity and success; for, as they told me, one of these last asked how he should know who to pay his respects to, and was roundly answered, "Do you think God

has not distinguished princes from other men? You will soon know him by his excellent colour and form." But I doubt I have tired my reader with the long tale of this farce. In short, we got well by it. We had designed to have proceeded further into the country, but were so well provided with all we wanted that we had no occasion for any more, every man having as much as he could carry. So the next day they made up their enters, all except myself, who kept my state. When we came home we divided it according to agreement, and after I had sent presents to my neighbours I had enough for two or three months.

This was too happy a life for my adverse fate to suffer me to continue long in, for before a year came about I was ordered home again with my cattle, three men being sent by Deaan Mevarrow to conduct me. The civil war had now been a year and half, which reduced every one to great straits, so that they wanted these cattle to live on, the rest being consumed by themselves or taken by the enemy; their enemies also being in as bad circumstances, or worse. We returned the same way I came, through the forests of wild cattle, and hunted as we went, till we arrived at Deaan Afferer's town on Yong-gorvo. I was very melancholy all the way, and here began first to think of making my escape to some seaport town at the hazard of my life, though it was a long time before I had an opportunity to effect it. When I arrived at Rer Mimebolambo's town, where my master and his people still lived, I found none but dull countenances, yet they were glad at my safe arrival, being hereby richer than their neighbours, whether friends or enemies, for my cattle were increased. They thanked me for my care, which was all the pay I got, and my master was too surly to do that; but my butchering office brought me the usual fees, by which means I lived as well as others.

My business was still to follow the cow-tail for the whole town, nobody being willing to trust their children or servants; and Deaan Mevarrow durst not peremptorily command even his own young slaves to anything which might hazard their being taken by the enemy, lest their parents and friends should resent it and leave him to go and live under other lords. As for their white slave, he had no parents nor relations to lament

his loss if killed or taken, and therefore the only fit person to be exposed to danger.

The war was not carried on so hotly as at first, for their courage was cooled on all sides, nor was there so much to be got by plundering one another as at the beginning. But it was not long before our original enemies, Chahary and Frukey, heard we had cattle, and one day, as I was tending them at some distance from the town, they came with two hundred men, surprised, and took the cattle, and pursued me in a most furious manner with a savage yelling, firing, and throwing lances, calling out, "Kill him, cut him to pieces!" &c., but I got the start of them, and fled into a thicket so full of prickles and strong great thorns that my flesh was miserably torn from head to foot; nevertheless I hid myself in the midst of it. They still followed me with their brutish cries, beginning to cut a passage to come at me; but just as I had given up myself for lost, of a sudden I observed them run as fast back again. I was some time before I could understand the meaning, till at length I found our people had heard the uproar and came upon them, so that they had now as much as they could do to save their own lives. They could not drive off the beasts, but, resolving to do all the mischief they could, they killed and wounded every one of them, and then fled. I was forced to keep my station, and was not without fear some of them would be driven upon me, till I perceived by the noise of the guns that they went farther off. I then crept out, and found one of their chief men fallen and wounded, with two lances in his hand. He looked me full in the face, with his eyes dazzling, and was going to speak, when I snatched one of his lances out of his hand, telling him it was my time now, and he was doubly my enemy, and immediately struck him dead. When our people saw me they thought I was cut with lances, for I was all over bloody and had several large rents in my flesh, my feet almost cut to pieces, and many large thorns yet sticking in me, so that when I came to recover from the fright, and to be cool, I was in great pain. The women and children soon came to help carry the slain cattle into town, there not being above fifteen alive, and those sorely wounded. While these were busy with the beasts I told Deaan Mevarrow that I took two

lances from a man, who was grievously wounded, but alive at the side of the thicket. I durst not tell them I killed him, for he had near relations among our people, and I did not know but they might privately revenge his death on me, for they grieved at it and begged his body to bury, which was granted.

When I came home my mistress very compassionately ordered and assisted a slave to wash and dress my wounds, and pull out the thorns. It was many days before I was well, and I was not a little glad I had no more cattle to look after, notwithstanding the want which I knew must immediately follow. However, for a few days we had beef enough, and more than we could well dispense with, while it was sweet.

By the time I was got well my master found another employment for me, which was to go into the woods and dig wild yams for him and his wife. The beef was now consumed, and there was scarce anything else to be found hereabouts to live on, and now we severely felt the miseries of a civil war. I went a great way sometimes before I could find enough of these for my master and self, being seldom able to bring home sufficient to serve me for a breakfast the next day, it being as much as I could do, with a whole day's search and labour, to please my master. Indeed, I always made sure of one meal, kindling a fire and roasting some in the woods.

One morning, just at sun-rising (for I have reason to remember it) my master and some of the chiefs were sitting in the gate of the town, and reflecting on their poverty and misfortunes. Deaan Mevarrow said he had tasted no beef a great while, and asked if they knew of anybody who had cattle. They told him none of his or Rer Mimebolambo's people, but there was a man in Deaan Mephontey's jurisdiction, about four or five miles off, who had some good beeves. He immediately calls a man and me near to him, and told us we must go and bring away privately one of those beasts, bidding us to choose a fat one. I began to make excuses, and said "I was afraid to go and steal other men's cattle. Besides," says I, "I am the only white man in all this country, and if I should be seen at a distance they will know me to be your slave, and that you sent me." He resolutely told me "It was his pleasure I should go," and ordered the man to go immediately and

provide a rope. I begged on my knees that he would send another, but in vain. However, as he turned away, speaking to other people, and I, at the same time, seeing some of my fellow-slaves going towards the woods, stole away, thinking when he did not see me he would appoint another in my room; but he turned suddenly, and espying me going off, took up his gun and fired at me; the shot went through the straw cap I had on, and I was so near that the wadding hit my back. He, perceiving he had not killed me, took up two lances, and before the people could stop his hand he threw one at me. He raved and called me a hundred vile names; as for swearing, they know nothing of it. At length he was pacified, and on my submission and the entreaty of his friends he forgave me, but insisted on my going. There being no remedy I proceeded on the design with the man, though with many lamentations at my hard fortune and wretched slavery.

We soon came near the place we were directed to, and after a little wandering about we espied near half a score cows grazing. Our next business was to look about diligently to see if the cow-keeper was near them. For my part I was never in more fear in my life scarce, the noise of the pretty little lizards, who play about in the sunshine, and make the leaves rustle, appeared then in my ears like the leaping out of men from an ambuscade; but after listening and going round every way for a considerable time, we, at length, ventured to sally out from among the trees, and pitching upon one of the fattest, my comrade took the rope, which was till then twisted about his middle, and slung her. We had much ado to get her away from her companions, but at last we conquered her and drove her through the woods, for we durst not go near any paths or open places, and by noon arrived safe at home, where she was in a few minutes cut up by above a dozen hands at once, for fear the owner should miss her and follow the track. The meat was divided into two hundred pieces, and distributed to as many people. My partner and I had an udder and a piece of the buttock, which is the usual fee to those who bring in a beast in this manner, or from an enemy. As almost every one in the town had a little, this was all eaten immediately, and the next day we were in the same case as before.

It was now winter, and the yams could not so easily be found, the stalks being so withered, that we were reduced to miserable want, and almost famished. If we could eat once a day it was luxurious living, insomuch that when the children cried for food, though they had none all day, their mothers could with authority snap short at them, and say, "Would ye be gluttons? Did ye not eat yesterday?" These shocking and pitiful dialogues between the hungry infants and their wretched mothers I heard for some months, and our calamitous circumstances appeared in our meagre and ghastly countenances. Here was no fighting and plundering now; our enemies never troubled us, nor we them. Thus we lived for eight or nine months after the loss of our cattle. Our enemies were somewhat more miserable than we, because Deaan Murnanzack, and his brother, who lived on the other side, often disturbed their rest, and deprived them of the only happiness of wretched poverty, which is to sleep away for one half of their time the acute sense of their misery.

While Deaan Crindo and everybody else wished for peace, but could find no expedient to bring it about, and Deaan Murnanzack's success had made them despair of it with honour, Providence threw an accident in the way which effected it. Rer Vovvern, King of Feraingher, which is St. Augustine Bay country, had declared war against our common enemy, Woozington; and had sent an ambassador, whose name was Ry-Nanno, an able and experienced person in the knowledge of mankind, whose errand was to reconcile the quarrelling lords of Anterndroea, and obtain their friendship and assistance in the common cause. He no sooner arrived at Fennoarevo, but the joyful news flew about the country, and reached our ears; Deaan Crindo made no scruple of admitting Ry-Nanno to make the first overtures from him to his nephew Murnanzack, whither the ambassador was then gone when we heard it.

It was with some reluctancy that this prince listened to peace; for his uncle's behaviour and that of his sons was so inhuman and savage, in destroying the cattle of relations and countrymen, rooting up the plantations, and other gross inhumanities, that he almost forgot his private wrongs, and

looked on Deaan Crindo as the general enemy of mankind, who, to gratify his brutish passion, endeavoured to bring about irreparable desolation and universal destruction, notwithstanding the examples he himself had shown at the first breaking out of the quarrels. With what admirable generosity did he treat both Crindo and Mundumber, their people, towns, and effects, plainly showing that he aimed at nothing but doing himself justice, and deciding a controversy, and that the murdering of men and ruining of countries were abominable. And as Ry-Nanno told me, it was his piety at last determined him to a reconciliation, for he thought God could never look favourably on a man who would refuse to relieve mankind from such miseries as his countrymen then suffered; and this only moved him, in the height of success, to waive the prosecution of his own interest, when it stood in competition with the public good. These were the pious resolutions of this great man, notwithstanding the laugh he made of revealed religion; or, at least, of my manner of attempting to teach it him. I wish that our Christian priests, who build so much on a more than ordinary knowledge of God's will, would make their lives examples, as his was, and teach princes, and others too, to be in reality so truly just, honourable, and good as this gallant black prince was in all his actions; and yet I question not but he must be called an illiterate heathen.

When Ry-Nanno had finished his negotiation with Deaan Murnanzack he passed by Deaan Afferrer, well knowing he would acquiesce with what his brother had done, and came to us to make up the difference between Chahary and Frukey, our enemies, and us. He condemned them very boldly for their folly in persisting so obstinately on their private resentments to the ruin of themselves and their country, and told them it was represented in a scandalous manner to all the kings on the island. He met with no great difficulty in the reconciliation, which, being effected, he told them that Rer Vovvern had a quarrel against Woozington for several gross affronts and insults. Among the rest, he had called a dog by the name Rer Vovvern; and he, Ry-Nanno, expected next summer to come and beg their assistance against Woozington; but his errand was then principally out of friendship, to put an end to their

destructive quarrels. This he did effectually; in a few days the peace was concluded, and declared publicly all over the country.

While Ry-Nanno was delivering his first speech to Rer Mimebolambo and Deaan Mevarrow, I observed him to fix his eye upon me, and when he had done he looked at me with concern in his face, and calling to me in broken English, "You, white man, come hither." He asked me my name; then, turning to my master, said: "Here's a white bird among crows; in our country they are common, ships coming there frequently: but they wear clothes, eat and drink with the lords. This poor young man looks piteously; why do you let him go without clothes? Pray be charitable to a distressed stranger, and don't use him cruelly." Deaan Mevarrow answered: "I have not used him cruelly enough; you don't know how his friends served Deaan Crindo." "Yes," says Ry-Nanno, "I know perfectly well the whole story, and that Deaan Crindo used them barbarously, in refusing to let them go on their request to a seaport, where ships come, in order to return home. If Rer Vovvern had this white man he would give him some clothes, which his countrymen have left behind, and take care of him as his own son till a ship comes to carry him away."

I could not forbear listening to this discourse with the greatest attention, and wanted an opportunity to talk privately with him, which I did at night; for he brought some cattle, which Murnanzaak had given him, knowing we had none; and I was sent for to kill a bullock. By this means I had an opportunity to tell him, in broken English, that I would come and see him at night. Accordingly I went, and he received me with great civility. After we were seated, he inquired into the whole history of our shipwreck and misfortune. I gave him a full account thereof, as also of my master's cruel usage and my miserable slavery. The relation of my wretched case made me weep, and drew tears from his eyes. He told me he would endeavour to buy me of Deaan Mevarrow, and comforted me as well as he could. I stayed late with him, and when I went home the hopes I entertained of his relieving me kept me waking all night. The next day, after he had talked with my master of their own affairs, he asked him if he was willing to

sell his white man, and he would give him a handsome young man, capable of doing him more service, or a buccaneer gun—which he pleased.

I was sitting among my fellow-slaves, eagerly regarding what the result would be, when my master called to me to stand up. I began to hope it was to make the bargain. Instead of that, says he: "Look on that white slave; for looking after cattle, digging of wild yams, and improving of honey, there is not the fellow of him; and though a buccaneer gun is the price of a slave, I will not take two for him." Ry-Nanno then showed him three or four slaves, but Mevarrow told him plainly he would not part with me on any conditions. Then, turning to me, asked "if I had not a mind to dig some wild yams for him, as well as his other slaves, who were just gone out before?" So I was forced to take up my hatchet, shovel, and lance, and go into the woods; but instead of searching for yams I sat down and cried till I was almost blind. However, I was obliged to find some to carry home, which was difficult enough, for the stalks were now withered; yet I made up a bundle after roasting them, but had none for myself. When I came home my master thought I had been idle, and said, "I suppose you are mightily troubled because Ry-Nanno is not your master?" I went home and laid me down on my mat, and had a log of wood under my head for my pillow, till a great while after it was dark; and then I went privately to Ry-Nanno.

After I sat down as usual, he told me he was glad to see me again, and asked what success I had, which I told him; as also that my master had greatly abused me for bringing no more yams. He said, "I was the first white man he ever saw who had a black man for his master; and though he could not buy me, yet he did not doubt but Rer Vovvern would find some way to get me into Ferainghер when he came next summer toward this country." But I answered, "I was afraid my master would not take me to the wars for that reason, and I despaired of ever getting my liberty, but that I was resolved to try as soon as my master went out anywhere to the wars, and left me behind." Ry-Nanno comforted me, and said, "The same Providence which had preserved me

hitherto would deliver me in the end, and he did not doubt of seeing me at St. Augustine Bay; for," says he, "there are but few ships come now to Port Dauphine, since the death of Deaan Tuley-Noro. That, indeed, is the nearest seaport, for ours is a great way off." I desired he would please to tell me how many days' journey it was, and which way he came. "For," said I, "I am resolved to attempt my escape; if they overtake me I shall be killed, and be out of my misery; and if I fall into any other's master's power he can't be worse than this." Ry-Nanno told me that the whole country of Merfaughla lay between us, extending itself from the utmost part of Anterndroca, where Deaan Murnanzack's cattle are kept, to the river which runs into St. Augustine Bay, which river is called Oneghayloghe; that he was forty-two days on his journey, but he could have performed it in less than half the time if they had not hunted and took their pleasure by the way. "For," says he, "the whole country is so well provided with what is proper for a man to live on, that one need not carry provision, except he is in haste. There are wild cattle in great part of it. Then there is faungidge, verlaway, wild honey, and wild yams; some or other of them, or all of them, to be had wherever you go." I inquired what kings lived in the way. He said none; for there were three. Rer Trortrock is the first to the northward, then Rer Chulu-Mossu-Andro and Zaffentumppoey; this last at the head of the river Oneghayloghe, to the eastward; but there are none of their people live within almost two days' long journey of the road. He told me the nearest way was by the foot of Yong-gorvo hills, till one comes to the west side of it, then strike over to the northward half a day's journey, if then I went betwixt the north and west I could not miss the way. I asked him a great many questions more, till it was late, and was going away; but he would not suffer me till I had supped with him. The next day he took his leave of my master, and I stole away to bid him farewell, and thank him for his civility. They were packing up his provisions, &c. He advised me to oblige Deaan Mevarrow in everything, lest he should kill me or do me a mischief, and bid me not despair of getting home to England. He then gave me a large piece of beef, and after repeated expressions of my

gratitude for his charitable concern for me, I parted from him with much regret. When I considered on what had passed, I began to have quite different thoughts, as if I had been in another country, for I found here were a great many people, and nations too, who understood humanity; but it was my misfortune to happen among the worst people of the whole island.

The next day the crier went about the town ordering all Deaan Mevarrow's slaves to muster before his door. I went, among the rest, to know his will and pleasure, which was to get ready to pack up our goods and march the next morning to our own town, which was accordingly done by everybody with pleasure except me, who was indifferent where I lived. So, after leave taken of Rer Minebolambo and his people, we marched home, and found our houses very little worse than when we left them, for they were then new built. The next command was to attend and receive axes and hoes to prepare the ground for planting. Some cleared it of the wood and briars, while others hoed it up instead of ploughing. Our master sent to his uncle Mephontey for Guinea corn and carravances, which were soon sowed; and then gave his slaves a fortnight's time to make their own plantations. I was forced to desire Deaan Sambo to beg my master to give me two days more to look after my honey, which I had left secured from thieves by the white sticks, on pretence of being poisoned by the charm of the Umossee. He gave me leave, and I took three large tubs, each of which held five or six gallons, and as many calabashes. I had further to go than from our old town, which was burnt; but when I came there I found them as I left them, untouched, and the honey prodigiously increased. I smoked the bees out and took the greatest part of the honey and wax away, but not all, leaving them some to live on; for they will return to the hives themselves, and, when they swarm, go to new ones without any of that trouble we have in England. I found some fine Virginia honey, with white wax, which I put in my calabashes. It being two years since I had seen them I had almost forgot where to look for some of them, for they were at a great distance from one another, up and down in the wood. However, I filled all my vessels, and left

as much more behind for another journey. I had more now than I could carry home at once, so that I was obliged to return the next day for it. When I had brought it home, I went to my master, and presented him with one of the tubs. Now these lords always expect a present on such occasions. When my master saw me bring such a large tub-full, he was surprised, and asked me why I brought him so much. For I must do him the justice to say he was not covetous.

Besides, here are no officers to go about and demand any certain quantity; but the people must go themselves, and carry a present of whatever their plantations and industry produce: as carravances, guinea corn, potatoes, &c., but it is only as an acknowledgment of homage; and a calabash would have been sufficient for me. But I told him I knew he had a circumcision feast to make, and I had a great deal, and so desired him to accept it. He told me it was true, and for that use he would buy all the honey I had to spare, and give me a cow and a calf for it as soon as he had some cattle.

The civil war being over, we lived at ease, could dig our wild yams without fear. People now went to and fro in the country to visit one another, and everybody attended their plantations; but it was six months after this before we had plenty. My conversation with Ry-Nanno was still for ever in my mind, and I wanted only an opportunity of my master's going abroad on some expedition to execute my resolution of endeavouring to escape. Nothing happened all this while, but there was one Rer Ambarroch, a petty prince, to the northward, who, a little before the civil war began, had received and detained eight slaves of Deaan Mevarrow's, and thirty head of his cattle; and when the Deaan sent a special messenger to demand them, he returned for answer, that he might come himself and fetch them. He being now at leisure, Rer Mimebolambo and he agreed to join their forces, and having obtained leave of Deaan Crindo, they prepared to march. I expected to be left behind with my usual charge of his wife, and thought it would be a proper opportunity for my design; but, standing before him, with two lances in my hand, says he: "You shall not always live at home like a woman, you shall go to the wars with me; the sight of a white man armed will frighten those people in

the mountains where we are going." So, taking my two lances away, "here," says he, "is one of your grandfather's arms, I suppose you can manage this better than ours; prepare yourself for the march." I desired one of my lances, which he gave me, and twenty musket-balls, some powder, and two flints. I took my mat, as usual, but my master gave it to one of his slaves to carry for me; so I walked like a gentleman without any luggage.

Our little army consisted of about three hundred men besides slaves. We went to the northward all the first day, the second day we got into the forest to the east of Yong-gorvo, where the wild cattle are; we hunted, and killed some beef, while four men were sent out as spies toward Rer Ambarroch's town, to see how it was fortified. We were almost a day's journey from it, for it was not proper to go nearer, lest some of their people should have discovered us hunting, and alarmed the town, for they live chiefly on wild cattle. Our spies returned, and brought word that it was an open place without any fortification. We marched all night, and by break of day arrived at the town, divided ourselves to surround it, and fired into their houses to rouse them. The barking of the dogs and the noise of the guns soon awakened them, and away they run, for we gave them no time to muster together. So we fell to plundering, and taking what prisoners we could get. I saw the prince's house, and ran directly toward it, hoping to take him prisoner. He jumped out, and fired at me; I was going to return it, when a man threw a lance at me, which I put off, and fired at him, and stopped his running; but by this means the prince got off.

I entered the house, and found his wife and daughter sitting with two or three slaves. I took hold of the ladies' hands, and brought them both out, and let other people go in and plunder the house as they pleased, for I had a good prize; but one of Rer Mimebolambo's men, who had taken nothing, would have took one of my captives from me. I told him I supposed he was a coward, and had sneaked behind a tree in the action, or else he might have taken something or other. He insisted on it, and reproached me with being a slave, till some of our people came up, when he was forced to depart with shame, for

a complaint was made to Deaan Mevarrow, who justified me, and severely reprimanded the man. Now an agreement was made before we set out that the cattle should be divided, but captives should remain to those who took them. When we had drove all the men away we got what cattle we could find together, and hastened through the wood with them, expecting that the enemy would rally and attack us. When we got into the plain we halted, and made ready to receive them. They soon came, according to expectation, as I suppose, about two hundred.

I delivered my two captives, as did every one else theirs, to the slaves in the rear, while we marched; and coming very near them, they also meeting us, we made a discharge almost all at once, and killed them three or four men. We halted a little to load again, and observed them stand amazed and daunted, looking more particularly on some one remarkable person who was fallen; I being soon loaded, and a few more ran directly to them; they seeing us come so near, which is not usual, fired at us, and ran away. We followed them till they got into the wood, and then returned to the main army. They came out of the wood again on our retreat, and followed us at a distance, being willing to see the last of their wives, children, and cattle, and to observe us, if any accident should happen, which might give them an advantage to recover them, or any part of them.

At noon we halted near a spring, in a shady grove, to refresh ourselves, for we were fasting. My master being seated, called to me to bring my two captives before him; and having commended me for my behaviour in the action, he told me I should keep one of them myself, and desired I would make my choice, and he would have the other. I soon determined for the young one, being in truth extremely pleased with her from the very moment I took her. She was about sixteen years of age, her mother was not above four or five-and-thirty. She I presented to my master. My choice also pleased him, for he had a mind to do a generous action; so calling her to him, he told her, "Her husband had brought all this upon himself by his unjust and churlish proceedings, and I have done no more than he bid me. I am come myself, and have fetched away all my

women; and I perceive some of my own cattle, with enough of his, to pay me and my friends for our trouble. As for yourself, I will give you your liberty; go back to Rer Amborroch and tell him if he would have his daughter and cattle again, he must come and fetch them; you see she is fallen into my white man's hands, and I will not take her from him." "And," says I, "he shall spill all the white man's blood before he shall have her again." After she had eaten some meat, which Mevarrow gave her, she came to me to take leave of her daughter. They both cried, not expecting ever to see each other again. I pitied them heartily, and should have dismissed the young one; but to confess the truth, I was downright in love with her, never before having seen any woman I liked so well, though I had been here so many years. However, I comforted the mother as well as I could, and told her "not to lament too much for her daughter, she should live very well. I would take more care of her than of myself, and though I was not a black man, I had as tender a heart as any black man whatever, and designed to make her my wife, if she liked it; if not," I said, "I did not know whether she would live so easy a life." Her mother asked her, "What she thought of that?" She answered, "She was at my disposal, and not at her own, and desired her duty might be presented to her father." "And mine too, if you please, mother," said I. So after a little more discourse they parted. She took her leave of Deaan Mevarrow, thanking him for his civility, and went away by herself. But I suppose she had not far to go alone; they were, no doubt, as near as they durst come, in the woods, observing us, though we never saw them any more; yet we kept a strict guard all day, and the next night. I was very careful of my pretty prisoner, tying a rope about her middle, with the ends about myself, and laid her close to me, holding her fast also in my arms. She only laughed and jested with me for it, but I was so fearful of her getting away that I could not sleep. We marched very swiftly the next day, and when we halted, Rer Minebolambo and Deaan Mevarrow parted the cattle; each had two hundred and eleven. And then they separated, taking the nearest way home.

Just before we entered the town we halted again to divide

the cattle among ourselves. The Deaan had thirty, his brother ten, each of the other principals one; whosoever had two slaves retained one of them, and delivered the other to their lord, and had a cow and calf instead of it. If two men got a slave between them, they had each a cow for it; every man who had not a slave, was to have a cow, if the number would admit of it; if not, one between two. And this is a general and fixed law for dividing an enemy's spoil.

My master told me I had but one slave. I alleged he had taken one away, and might have kept it; but I found he was only in jest; for he gave me a cow and a calf for her whom he sent away, and would have had me pick out another cow and calf for my honey, which I refused. So he chose them for me himself of the best of the cattle. Thus I became rich at once, having two cows and their calves, and an handsome Zorzer Ampeller.*

When we came near the gates of the town the shells were blown, and the women came all running to see what was the meaning of it, not expecting us so soon. But when they knew us, they ran back to their houses till we entered in triumph, and Deaan Mevarrow was seated; then his wife came out and licked his feet, and after her the rest of the women, and then each to her respective husband. I thought I had now a wife, and as fine a one, too, as the best of them, and the next time we returned from such an expedition, I should have homage done me. My mistress sent and desired to see my lady; I went along with her. She would have her sit down on the same mat with herself, and could not forbear shedding tears, it having been her own case, and charged me to use her tenderly. I said I did not design to make a slave of her, but a valle,† or wife.

I had a stock of honey, which I left with a neighbour, as also carravances; and having milk from my cows, I made a very tolerable supper for my bride and myself, and was formal enough to mimic matrimony as far as I could, by taking her by the hand and saying I was willing to make her a tender and faithful husband, and asked her if she was willing to be a faithful and loving wife, to which she cheerfully agreed. And

* A girl, "*Zaza ampeta.*" † *Valy*, or wife.

so we lay down and were as happy as our circumstances would admit of, notwithstanding we had no bridemen and maids, nor throwing of stockings.

Some of my readers will, perhaps, wonder how I could so passionately love a black woman; but let them consider I had been several years in the country, and they were become natural to me. Then she was very handsome, of a middle stature, straight, and exactly shaped, her features regular, and her skin soft, fine, and delicate, as any ladies in Europe. Indeed, all the women are soft and fine-skinned, who are of any rank, and carefully brought up. There are uncleanly, coarse-skinned creatures among the vulgar, as well as in Europe; but the women are not naked as some of the Guinea negroes. Their clothing is a lamber much longer than the men's, reaching to their feet from their middle; above it, and joining under the lamber, is a garment like a straight shift, covering all the body to the neck, and short sleeves. This is commonly made of cotton, and of a dark colour. The women of the better sort adorn it with beads very handsomely, especially on the back; where they are ranged in rows, coming across one another; and being of different colours, they make a large double cross, so like a union flag, that one would imagine they copied it.

Thus much as to the description of the person and habits of these women, in which I will not pretend to prefer them to our Europeans; and yet, notwithstanding I have been so long in England, I can't help confessing it is with pleasure I think of mine, and with concern I remember our parting; for as to their fidelity, behaviour to their husbands, good-natured dispositions and agreeable conversation, so far as their little knowledge extends, I think the Europeans must not compare with them. We white people have a very contemptible and mean opinion of these blacks, and a great one of ourselves. They also have a great opinion of us, and think we excel them vastly in knowledge, arts, and sciences. So far they are right, but if an impartial comparison was to be made of their virtue, I think the negro heathens will excel the white Christians. It will be remarked, I dare say, that the best character I could give myself to recommend me to my wife's mother was, that I had as tender a heart as a black; for they certainly treat one

another with more humanity than we do. Here is no one miserable, if it is in the power of his neighbours to help him. Here is love, tenderness, and generosity which might shame us; and moral honesty too. And this not only just in this one country of Anterndroea, but all over the island; even in other places more than here. Deaan Mevarrow may be alleged as an exception to this moral honesty, for his stealing his neighbours' cattle. This is true, but there will be bad men in every country, yet it must be observed he did it against conscience, and was self-condemned; for he knew justice as well as any one—witness his paying me my cow and calf for my honey, and many other things. There is a wide difference between the capacities and virtues of some men; it is not with pleasure that I mention Deaan Murnanzack's name with Deaan Mevarrow's in the same page; yet the peculiar vices of the latter are not an objection against the national virtues of his country.

My reader, I hope, will excuse this digression by remembering the only pleasure I had to alleviate the misery of my slavery while in Anterndroea. I looked after my master's cattle as before, but then I had some of my own, and an agreeable companion to go home to, who took care to dress my victuals, and having plenty of honey, I was never without toak in the house, for my wife and I to enjoy ourselves with, and entertain a friend; so that I lived as well as any of my neighbours, and being now less fatigued than formerly, I was capable of taking more notice than before of the religion and laws of the country. And as I am going to relate a circumcision feast, it will not be improper to give first an account of the religion, which is, indeed, but little.

They acknowledge and adore the only one supreme God, whom they call Deaan Unghorray, which signifies the Lord above. They say there are four other Lords, each to his respective quarter of the world, whose names are Deaan Antemoor, or the Northern Lord; Deaan Meguddummateme, the Southern Lord; Deaan Androwfertraer, the Western; and Deaan Anabeleshey, the Eastern. This last, they say, is the dispenser of plagues and miseries to mankind, by the permission or command of the Great God; the others also are

executors of His commands, but chiefly dispensers of benefits. These four they look on as mediators between men and the Great God; from whence they have a great veneration for them, and recommend themselves to them in their prayers and sacrifices.

I have already given some account of the Owleys, by which they seem to have the same notion as some superstitious people in Europe have formerly had of familiar spirits; because they send them, as it were, on messages with their prayers to the Great God, and expect them to come after a sacrifice, and tell in dreams what they have to do, and also warn them of dangers. This agrees pretty near to the notion which some Christians have had of guardian angels, or some philosophers of a good and bad genius; or rather is more exactly agreeable to a very ancient and long-received opinion of demons; and therefore, not having any other word so fit in our language, I choose to distinguish them by that, for Owley is no more than the general name of the utensil, or altar, which is rather like a talisman, or sigil, to which the demon is supposed to be attached, and by which, as a proper medium, they will be invoked. For there are almost as many different demons with proper names as there are people who have Owleys,* some of which are Ry-Leffu, Tompack-Offaarevo, Lalla-petu, Deer-me-sacker, Deer-hurzolavor, Ry-mungary, Ry-ove. Then they also invoke the spirits of their forefathers, and have a great veneration for them, calling upon them by names given after their decease, insomuch that they account it a crime to mention them by the names they had when living; and this name is chiefly known by the word Garevo at the end of it, as may be observed in the names of Deaan Crindo's and Deaan Murnanzack's fathers, when repeated by my mock retinue among the peasants.†

* Flacourt gives the names of many of these different "*ody*," and the spirits or demons belonging to them.

† This curious custom of posthumous honour, shown by the change of name, is mentioned by Flacourt as usual among the Zafferamini, who rendered the same honour to their deceased sovereign, Andian Ramach, named after death Andian Maroarivo, as to a God. This addition of the suffix "*arivo*" to the new name of a dead monarch on his apotheosis still survives as a relic of the ancient hero-worship among the Sakalava tribes on the west coast. See p. 156, Deaan Mernindgarevo, etc.

The veneration they have for the memory of their forefathers, and the assurance they have of their spirits always existing, appears in every circumstance of the few religious duties they perform. The burial of the dead is very singular and solemn. I have often taken notice of the great humanity with which, on all occasions, they treat each other in all calamities and misfortunes; so also in sickness they frequently visit, and contribute all they can to the help of the afflicted family, and restoration of the sick person. At a decease all the relations and neighbours come to the house, the women lament, and the men assist in the preparations for the funeral. The first thing is to pitch upon a tree for the coffin; then a cow, or an ox is killed, and some of the blood sprinkled on it, praying to their forefathers and the demons and demi-gods to assist them, and take care that the tree split not in falling, nor that any man be hurt by cutting or felling it. After the tree is down, they cut it about a foot longer than the corpse, and split it downright lengthways (for they always choose a tree which they know will split so), and dig both parts hollow, making them like two troughs. It is then fit to be carried to the house, the corpse being in the meantime washed and wrapped up in a lamber, or perhaps in two lambers, and sewn fast. There is all this while frankincense, or a gum very like it, burning in the house. They seldom keep the corpse above one day, especially in hot weather. They put the corpse in the troughs, closing them together, and carry it on six men's shoulders. Every family has a peculiar burying-place, which no other person durst infringe upon, or break into; nor, indeed, does anybody attempt it. This is enclosed and fenced round with sticks like palisades; when they come near the place, the corpse is set down without it, and they proceed to the rest of the ceremony, which is to make four fires, one at each corner on the outside of the burying-place. On these fires they burn the ox or cow, which was before killed on purpose, dividing it into quarters, and consuming it wholly with the fire; then they sprinkle frankincense on the coals, and spread them round about. This being done, the chief, or eldest of the family, goes close to the gate of the burying-place, and hollas aloud several times; after which he calls upon all the dead

there deposited, beginning at the earliest, and proceeding to the latest, every one distinctly by name, and for the conclusion tells them, "Here is a grandchild or relation come to lie among them, and hopes they will receive him as a friend." Then he opens the gate, and two or three persons are sent in to dig the grave, which is commonly made seven or eight feet deep, and the corpse is placed in it and covered with the earth, without saying any more. Nobody is permitted to enter here but some of the nearest relations and the bearers, and the door is immediately closed up again. There are commonly a great number of people without, who are busied in cutting up and dividing among themselves the cattle which are given them for that purpose, if it is a great and rich family who can afford it. But the poorer sort cannot gratify their friends so bountifully. Once a year they commonly go to this burying-place to clear it of weeds, and make it clean; but they never enter it till they have burnt a cow or bullock before it. I have also known some who, during a person's sickness, will go and make a sacrifice and prayer here to invoke the help of the spirits of their forefathers; but this is not general. And if any man has some ceremonies of his own which others do not commonly use, no person is offended, nor do they trouble themselves about it. The reason is, here are no people who pretend to be greater favourites of the supreme God than other men, and particularly commissioned to interpret and declare His will. No one has yet been hardy enough to attempt this, and if any one should, he would meet with few to credit him; much less would they be brought to make deaans or great men of them.

Every man here, a poor man as well as a lord, is a priest for himself and family, and expects an answer by the demons in his dreams. If he differs in his ceremonies from his neighbour, as there is no damage given or received, there is no hatred arises; but if they were to set apart men, and to give them a certain number of cattle and slaves every year, to perform some certain peculiar ceremonies, and instead of praying to God themselves, leave it to these to do it for them, and prescribe rules and seasons to them, these very people would soon be their masters; for they would terrify them with the anger of God and demi-gods, and make parties among the people to

support their interest, for fear of losing their substance and honours, and in the end punish any innocent person for their impudent inventions, under pretence of demons coming in the night from God, and commanding them so to do. We had an example of the easiness of mankind being imposed on by these pretenders to prophecy, in my master Mevarrow, and of the artifice of the imposers in a neighbour of ours.*

There was a person of distinction lived about two hours' walk from us, called Deaan Olaavor, whose father died while I was here; and he was preparing to inter him in the burying-place of the family, when the night before he dreamed his father appeared to him; or, as he said, his father appeared to him in a dream, and desired him not to bury his corpse, but keep it in a sundock or chest, and build a little house for it. This he performed, building a house, as one might guess, about three hundred yards from the town to the eastward, whither he used to go and make prayers and sacrifices, and then pretended his father's spirit, which he called Lulu-bay, or the great spirit, used to come and tell him strange things which should happen to his neighbours. He came frequently to Deaan Mevarrow, who gave ear to almost all he said, which Olaavor soon found how to turn to his advantage. And when the troublesome times came on, he would come frequently to Mevarrow, and tell him how angry Lulu-bay †

* "The acquaintances after eight or fifteen days send, by the slaves, food to the dead, and cause him to be saluted as if alive. They set up also round about the Grave, upon Stakes, the heads of the sacrificed beasts, and the children come thither from time to time to sacrifice an ox, and to ask counsel of the Dead about that they mean to undertake with these words: *Thou who now art with God, give us counsel in this, or the other, Matter*, which they then name. If they be sick or afflicted with distemper of Mind, then presently the next Friends to the sick send an *Ombyasse*, or Priest, to seek the spirit in the church-yard, who goes thither in the night and makes a hole in the Vault where the Corps lie, and calls the soul of the Father of the Sick, asking it *Whether the Spirit hath nothing more for his Son or Daughter.*" . . . (*Ogilby.*)

† Lulu-bay, *i.e.*, "*Lolo-be*," from *Lolo*, a ghost; *be*, great powerful.

was, and what misfortunes he threatened him with. Now, whether, as he was a cunning man, he guessed right from the reason of things, or whether he dreamed right, for sometimes, indeed, it happened as he said, and often otherwise. But the design seemed to me chiefly to get an heifer now and then for a pretended sacrifice, and often presents of strings of beads, and other things for the pains he was at, in going on purpose to appease the wrath and procure the assistance of Lulu-bay. The advantage he made of this was so visible, that many people suspected him of artifice; but at length a brother of Deaan Olaavor's went to the wars and was killed, and Lulu-bay never came in a dream to warn either of them of the danger. This opened the eyes of a great many more; but an excuse was at hand: "That this brother had neglected to sacrifice and pray to Lulu-bay, and therefore he suffered him to fall." Yet Deaan Mevarrow, and some of the silliest of the people, still continued their superstitious opinion of this great spirit, being afraid to speak or think anything contemptible of it, having always ready the excuse of mean-spirited bigots, "That those were safer who paid a venerable respect to Lulu-bay, than those who did not. Let the case be how it will, if he was not a great and powerful spirit, capable of hurting them, or doing them good, but that the whole was a fiction of Deaan Olaavor's, yet it was no damage to think he was so, and do him honours; but if he was in reality such a potent spirit, and they should contemn him, then they were sure to suffer for their contempt." This was the foolish answer those timorous people would give when they were asked the reason of their tame compliance to Deaan Olaavor, and would have been as good an excuse for their worshipping a potato, had any man told them he had a revelation in his dream that it was a demi-god. I think my reader may arrive at a more satisfactory knowledge of the native disposition of the people in morals and religion from such instances and occurrences, than from any set and formal description which I can make; I shall, therefore, pursue my history, and relate here in its proper place the feast and ceremony of the circumcision of Deaan Mevarrow's son.

"The toak was made some weeks beforehand, by boiling the

honey and combs together, after the manner of mead.* They filled a great many tubs, some as large as a butt, and some smaller, a shed being built and thatched over on purpose to place them in. When the day was appointed, messengers were sent about the country to invite their relations and friends. Three or four days before the circumcision you might see the beginning of a festival. People went about blowing of horns, and beating of drums night and day, and some toak out of the lesser vessels was given them. Deaan Mevarrow had procured two large oxen from Deaan Murnanzack. They who lived furthest off came the day before, and toak was given them. When I came home in the evening I found the town full of people, some wallowing on the ground, and some staggering; scarce any one sober, either men, women, or children.† And here one might sensibly perceive the effects of peace and security, people being wholly abandoned to drinking and merry-making without fear or care. My wife, I perceived, had been among them, but had the prudence to retire home in time, for I found her covered up asleep.

"And now the day being come, I returned from looking after my cattle before noon, to bring up the two oxen and a bull, whose legs being immediately tied fast, they were thrown along on the ground. The child was near a year old, for they have no certain time of doing it. He was dressed up with beads, and a skein of white cotton-thread on his head.‡ There was a great

* Francois Cauche witnessed, in February, 1642, the public ceremonies of a Circumcision performed in the village Mannhale belonging to Andianmachicore, which he describes with minute detail. He describes the boiling of the Honey liquor or mead in great *earthen* vessels, round below with a great Belly and narrow mouth. Drury must mean these by the *tubs* as large as a butt.

† "All the company dance and sing, . . . then beginning to drink of the Wine of Honey or Mead, follow to guzzle as much as possible, for they that drunk most are the greatest honor to the Assembly" (*Ogilby*).

‡ "Afterwards they bring the Children into the *Lapa*, adorn'd and dress'd with Corals and Bracelets, Pretious stones and other Ornaments about their necks: Here they stay till the tenth hour of the Morning, with an empty body, which they can discern by the shadow of a Man in the Sun, standing straight upright; for they measure the

concourse of people. Some brought presents according to their ability, as a cow, or calf, beads, iron shovels, hatchets, &c. Every one was served with a little toak in a calabash once only before the ceremony. Things being now ready, they waited for the signal from the Umossee, who was all this while measuring his shadow with his feet; and when it came to the length of three and a half of his feet, he gave the word. Then a principal of the near relations, who had the child in his arms, ran with him to the bull, and putting the child's right hand on the bull's right horn, said these words:—

'Tyhew Deaan Unghorray, Deaan Antemoor, Deaan Anebeleshy, Deaan Androfertraer, Deaan Meguddumdummateun, an Ruey Owley, Heer-razehu, ittoey Zorjer, ittoey acquo toey Anomebay loyhe ittoey handrabeck enney Raffa loyhe.'

Which is in English,

'Let the Great God above, the lords of the four quarters of the world, and the demons prosper this child, and make a great man of him, and let him be strong as this bull, and overcome his enemies.'

"If the bull roars while the boy's hand is on his horn, they look on it as an unfortunate omen of his being sickly or unhappy in life; and all the business the Umossee has is only such superstition as this, to tell them when is the most lucky hour or minute to do it in, like a fortune-teller: but as to the religious part of the ceremony, he has nothing to do with it. If there is any religion intended by it, which is some question, for any experienced man of the neighbourhood, whom they suppose best understands it, performs the office. As to the name, it is given before, and often changed afterwards. This child's was Ry-mocker. When the ceremony is finished the child is delivered to its mother, who is all this while sitting on a mat, and the women round her. And now the revel began;

shadow with their feet, which they call *Liha* or *Pas*, which being nine of their own Feet's length, is the time of the Circumcision. Then the Drums beat and the Circumciser puts on his Garments and binds a Fillet of great strong white Cotton-yarn to his left arm to scour his knife" (*Ogilby*).

the thatch was pulled from off the toak-house, and I was ordered to kill the bull and the oxen; but these not being enough, my master sent me for three of those which his friends brought him, for there were abundance of people to be fed. Before they began to drink* he took care to secure their weapons, and no man was suffered to have either gun or lance; and then they went to boiling, broiling, and roasting of meat, and drinking of toak, singing, halloaing, blowing of shells, and drumming, as long as they were able. I don't think there were twenty sober persons among them. This continued all night. Some went away the next morning, but most stayed till evening, so that the feast lasted three days."

These people are great lovers of toak, and some of the ordinary fellows as great sots as any in England, and as lazy; for they will sell their Guinea corn, carravances, and even their very spades and shovels, and live on what the woods afford; their lambers, too, must go for toak, and make a very ordinary one serve their turn, just to cover their nakedness. It is made of the wooring,† a tree so called, which they cut down with a lance. The outer bark they take away, and the inner, which is white, they peel off entire, and beat with a stick till it is soft and pliable, and then it is fit to wear as a lamber, but it cannot be washed. The lambers, for the most part, are made of cotton, dyed in the yarn, except the richer and great people, who buy the silks and calicoes at seaport towns, and at a great price, as a cow and a calf, for no more than will make one lamber. Other clothes the men wear not, but they adorn themselves with mananelers,‡ which are rings for their wrists; and these

* Caucho mentions how:—"Everybody had made wine of sugar and having drank plentifully, Dianzore, having lodged us in a house of his own, told us he had drank too much already, and would talk to us the next day, and caus'd all his Men to be disarm'd, lest being drunk they should quarrel with us."

† "*Voroka*" = rags, tatters. "*Vorodrongony*" = the scrapings of hemp.

‡ "*Mananelers.*" These are first mentioned in the Dutchman's first voyage—"Leurs ornemens sont des barcelets d'étain, ou du plus bas argent, de la forme des *manilles* de cuivre que l'on porte en Guineé." Ogilby speaks of the Malagasy wearing *Menelics* of gold, silver and brass on their arms. Flacourt mentions these "*menilles*"

both men and women of distinction wear. They are sometimes of gold (but where they get it is more than I know, and perhaps worth inquiring after), often of silver, but more often of copper, which I found at length is produced and made in the country as well as iron. They dress their heads handsomely, curling up their hair to make it lie close, for they have hair on their heads and not wool, as the Guinea negroes, neither are their noses flat, though they are small, nor their lips so big; but their hair is always black, and for the most part curls naturally. Deaan Crindo's family are distinguishable for their long hair and their copper-coloured skins. Here are several good laws, notwithstanding they have no knowledge of letters, yet are they fixed in their minds, and delivered from one to another, some of which I remember.

"If one assaults another maliciously, and breaks a leg or an arm, the offender is fined fifteen head of cattle to the injured.

"If one breaks another's head, and the wounded has not returned blow for blow, he has three beeves for the damage.

"If two men quarrel, and one curses the other's father and mother, be they dead or alive, and his antagonist retorts not the curse against his father and mother, he recovers for damage two beeves.

"If a man is caught robbing his neighbour of an ox or a cow, he is forced to restore ten for it." And this is rigorously executed, too, notwithstanding my master broke this good law; but he was, like great men all over the world, seldom to be held by the ordinary laws of their country; and yet he, as well as most others, found at last those who were able to deal with him; and was convinced, by dear experience, that if a man will live at all among men, he must be bound by the general rules which the society in which he lives has framed for their convenience and peace; without which men are not herded animals, but every one a single savage, erect brute, and the world an uncultivated wilderness.

"If one is taken stealing of Guinea corn, carravances, potatoes, &c., out of the plantations, he forfeits a cow and calf to the owner, or more in proportion to the offence.

or bracelets for the legs and arms, which, he says, are called by the natives, "*Matahots an pautac.*"

"If one man's cattle break into another man's plantation, for every beast found there the owner of them must give an iron shovel.

"If any one is caught stealing another's hive of honey, the fine is three iron shovels." It may be observed that these iron shovels, hoes, &c., are a kind of small money, for here is no trade but by barter, or exchanging one thing for another, and therefore they are very exact in proportioning the value of one thing to another. As,

"If a man borrows an ox or cow of his neighbour, in a year's time six calves are supposed a proper value to return for the ox. And if he neglects paying then, those calves are supposed to be three steers and three heifers, and the increase which may be computed to arise by their growth and production is the man's due of whom the ox was borrowed. And if it go on for ten or more years, it is calculated what three bulls and three cows might have produced in the time, and all that is the creditor's due.

"If a man lies with another man's wife who is superior to him, he forfeits thirty head of cattle besides beads and shovels a great number. And if the men are of an equal rank, then twenty beasts are the fine, &c. Note, A Man can put his wife away at pleasure." In this country of Anterndroea they are not addicted to having so many wives as in some other parts of the island.

"The nearest of kin marry, even brother and sister, if they have not the same mother.

"After a brother's death they often take his wife, and their father's too.

"To lie with one of the king's or prince's wives is death by the fixed laws."

My master, Mevarrow, suspected a young man to be great with his wife. Whether he had any proof I cannot say, yet I remember everybody expected the young man would be killed for it; but his brother being a chief man, and a favourite, too, of the Deaan's, and the civil wars coming on, he seemed to neglect it; but now in peaceable times, two years after the offence, the man being constantly in his view, he thought of punishing him, and accordingly he and Deaan Sambo, the

young man, his brother, and some few slaves of us to attend them, were in the woods, it being so contrived on purpose, under pretence of stealing and killing a cow. Deaan Sambo drew the young man with him into a remote part of the woods distant from us, when in a little time we heard him holloa three times. At which instant Deaan Mevarrow arose, and pretending to stretch himself with his lance in his hand, he struck the young man's brother through the body. This so surprised us all that we ran some one way and some another, thinking our master mad, and some of us went home and said so. For this person whom he killed was not the adulterer, but he had been our master's counsel-keeper, and knew all the secret lurking holes of the women and cattle, and thinking he would turn his enemy and revenge his brother's death, thought it safest to dispatch him too, for Deaan Sambo had killed the supposed adulterer just as he holloaed, which was the signal agreed on between them; but whether he knew Deaan Mevarrow's design on the other I cannot tell, for there were several other people which he had brought there, as if he designed they should be witnesses of it. Deaan Sambo being the executioner made me strongly imagine there was more than suspicion, for he was no cruel man, as I knew by experience. Yet I had a very good opinion before of my mistress, having never myself seen anything like it in her conduct. But I had now almost done with this family and country, for every occurrence and circumstance in my affairs had some tendency to forward my departure and escape, which I at length effected.

It happened not long after this that while I went by stealth to see my own plantation, my corn, &c., being near ripe, in the meantime some of my cattle broke into the plantation of a principal man, and did him some damage. I soon heard of it by my fellow-slaves, and went to seek the beasts, but they were drove home to the town by the planter's servants with heavy complaints. I knew the danger of going within view or reach of my master, and therefore turned aside into the wood to consider what step was next to be taken. I at length remembered the friendship between Deean Olaavor and Deaan Mevarrow, and therefore went directly to him, and told him my case, begging his endeavours to reconcile me to my master.

He readily agreed to it, made me welcome, and desired me to stay that night, and the next day and night, and on the third he would go with me himself; but business hindered him so that he could not go before. By this means I was absent long enough to alarm them with the fear of my desertion. However, Deaan Olaavor went with me according to his word, and after he had expostulated the case, and procured my pardon, I was sent for, and restored to favour, with only some admonitions for my future behaviour. After the conversation on my fault and pardon was ended, they fell into familiar discourse, and Deaan Mevarrow clapped his hand to his mouth, which is an action they use when they are filled with wonder at anything.

"Deaan Olaavor! yesterday," says he, "I sent for an Umossee to advise with about Robin, and to divine what was become of him. After he had conjured a great while he told me I should see Robin once more, but the next time he goes away I should never see him again under my command. He will have a master to the northward, with whom he will not live long, but will still go farther northward and have more masters, and at length return to his native country."

I could not help listening with attention and pleasure to what he said, though I had no reliance on these fortune-tellers. I was getting up to go home to my wife when my master called me.

"Stay," says he, "I have something to do with you before you go." Seeing me look a little terrified, "I shall do you no harm," says he, "only make sure of you."

Immediately the Umossee was sent for, and then I perceived they were going to enchant me, as they think, that I should not run away. I had seen this magical drollery performed before on slaves they suspect, often forcing an oath upon them by the Demon Fermonner. And when these poor wretches have afterwards endeavoured to fly, and get bewildered in woods and unknown ways, or hurt themselves by a fall, or any common accident, they are silly enough to think the Demon Fermonner has done it, and confounded them, and dazzled their eyes that they shall not find the way. Two or three instances of this nature in an age are enough to make fools give credit to the whole.

At length enters the wrinkled old wizard with solemn pace and a leering sneer in his haggard countenance, shaking his projecting noddle.

"Ha! Well I see you have him. I told you so. Who is he that dares to despise my prophetic spirit? You see as much is proved true as the time will permit. Neglect my advice for the future, and look to the northward for your slave. But in vain may you look, and send too; it will then be too late. The spirits who are at my command may do somewhat now."

"What has proved true?" says Deaan Olaavor, who was not so great a bigot as Deaan Mevarrow, notwithstanding his Lulu-bay. "Robin never run away at all; he would have come yesterday if I could have spared time; so here's nothing at all of what you talk of."

"Pray, wise old man, go on," says Deaan Mevarrow, interrupting Olaavor. "I sent for you on purpose to take your advice. Prepare the charms."

Away goes the fumbling old fellow to work, scraping a root and mixing of things which I knew had neither good nor harm in them (for I was afraid of nothing but his nose dropping into it), muttering all the while betwixt his few broken teeth words that neither himself nor any one else knew any meaning to. When the dose was prepared, he called it the Fermonner,* and put it into carravances boiled on purpose, and it was given me in a calabash. But before I ate it he hung several roots about me, one over my eyes, one at my back, one on my breast, and one on each leg, giving every one a name. Then scraping a little from each of them, and putting it into the mess of carravances, I was ordered to eat it, which I did without any concern. In the meanwhile he pronounced his prayers and curses over me.

"Whenever he thinks of running away, remember, O you Deaan Fermonner, how he has eaten what belongs to you; and also, O ye," &c. [here he named all the spirits belonging

* "*Fanarna.*" This seems to have been something like the *Odifanornibé*, a charm used to prevent those who have been robbed from following the thief, mentioned by Andrianaivoravelona (see *Antananarivo Annual*, vol. iii. p. 82).

to other charmed roots], "how he has eaten what belongs to you, and if he offers to go away, arise in his stomach, O Deaan Fermonner, and make him so sick that he shall not be able to stir. And ye, which have guarded his several parts, break his back; let his breast be tormented with pain, and his legs chained, as with Parra-pingo's; and if he sets forward, join all your powers and break his legs the first time he jumps or steps over anything in his way."

Thus he went on for a long time, but in a more abrupt manner, without any method, with his hands tossing, and his voice changing, high and low, with an hundred impertinent repetitions and cant words of his own invention, raving like a fanatical enthusiast. When he had tired himself with preaching, he takes off the charms, making me lick every one of them.

"Now let him go," says he, "where he pleases; the demons which attend these charms will soon acquaint me, and I shall inform his master."

I had a holiday given me this day, for my master was in a good humour, being highly pleased with what he had done; and sent another to do my business. When I came home I found my wife sitting in a melancholy posture, being under great concern, for fear I should be killed. She would have prepared me something to eat, but I told her I had dined, and related the whole affair to her. She was glad I got off so well, and wondered I was so dull at it, knowing I did not regard any of these ceremonies, and made a jest of them; but I had quite different thoughts than she was aware of, or than I durst trust her with, which broke my rest so that I scarce ever slept sound there any more. I found I must now run away at all hazards, for if sickness or any common accident had attended me, such was Deaan Mevarrow's superstition that he would certainly have thought it had been done by these demons or spirits invoked in this conjuration, and took it for an infallible sign of my intention to go from him, and very probably in his passion would have killed me; so that these conjurations, which Mevarrow depended on to hinder me from going, had the direct contrary effect, and was the most pressing motive that could have happened to force me to it, and made it abso-

lutely necessary that it should be so; yet I have often thought how unaccountably true his prediction or guess proved, even in the very circumstances of it.

While my head was full of projections which way to bring it about, I could not help saying somewhat relating to my design to a very civil, honest young man, who kept cattle always near me, and was a captive from another country. I asked him one day where he came from, and he said from the northward. I told him if I was so near my own country as he was I would not stay here in slavery. "Nor would I," says he, "were it not for the demons who, I am afraid, will break my bones ever since the Umossee cursed me so, as he did you." At which I laughed. "Why," says he, "if you are not afraid of that, you may get away with as much ease as I." I started at this, and told him "I suppose he did it to try me." But he offered to enter into a solemn oath before the Owley that he meant no such thing, and would assist me in it.

However, I went no further with the argument that day, but the next I tried him, for after swearing him in a religious manner, and knowing him to be, like most people, more religiously disposed under misfortunes than in prosperity, I freely confessed my desire was to go, and asked his advice. He told me "I had nothing to do but fly directly to Deaan Afferrer, who would protect me, and treat me civilly; that when Rer Vovvern's army came next summer I might easily get to them, who would be glad to oblige the white men by sending me home in the first ship which arrived at Ferraignher; for," says he, "nobody in the whole island will make a white man a slave, or keep him against his will, but these people; so that if you get from hence you will soon get to some town where ships come." I thanked him for his advice, and told him I would show him my beehives, and the roots of which the charm was made. This I did to make him keep the secret.

And now I had but one hard task more to go through, and that was to persuade my wife to fly with me, or let me carry her home to her father. It was no easy matter to break my mind to her, but at length catching her in a humour talking of her friends, and wishing she could see them, I told her if

she would be resolute and secret, and always love me, I would carry her to them, and stay with her; but she was superstitious too, and afraid I should be hurt by the charms of the Umossee, so that I could not insist upon it any further. But to part with her, and leave her in slavery, and perhaps to be ill-used on my account, was a mortifying stroke to me, for I loved her sincerely.

However, there was a necessity; my resolution was fixed, and I had no time to lose. It was now rainy weather, and I stayed only till it should be fair again, which was about a fortnight, near which time I took my companion into the woods, showed him my hives, and also the manner of digging the roots for the charms, for it was to no purpose to attempt to undeceive him. The night before I went away I left an heifer in the field on purpose, telling my friend, when I called and desired him to look after my cattle while I went after the heifer, that should be the signal of my departure. He told me it was two days' walk to Yong-gorvo,* but I said I would run it in one, and did not doubt of getting safe thither, even though my master should send after me, if I was but two hours before them. When I came home with my cattle my master looked on them, and missed the heifer, but after chiding me a little he bid me get up early in the morning and look for it, before it broke into any person's plantation.

This was what I plotted, for to have the whole day before me. But now came the hardest task, which was to take leave of my wife. It was some satisfaction that I had no child by her. I was almost afraid to tell her, but at length, after making her swear solemnly by the Owley that she would keep the secret I should entrust her with, I told her I was going, and the only trouble I had was parting with her. She begged and cried, but there was no staying any longer for me here, my life was every day in danger. Had I been in any other part of the country, where I could have lived free, easy, and safe, I don't know what effects the love I had for her might

* The mountain Yong-gorvo, *i.e.*, "*Angavo*," is marked in Drury's map as quite to the south of Antandroy, near where he was wrecked. It is necessary to bear this in mind as giving the starting-point for his journey towards the North-west.

have produced. At length she was a little appeased from her first passion, and I broke from her arms by break of day—with what pain those of my readers who are tender lovers can better imagine than I describe. I drove my cattle into the field, where my companion was ready. I did not go near him for fear of spies, but called and bid him take care of my cattle. He said, "Yes, yes," and away I walked, or rather ran, for by the time the sun was two hours high I was got through the first woods, which is not much less than ten miles, if it could be measured.

I had now a plain to go over of five or six miles. Here I looked back often, for fear of pursuers, but saw none, for my wife and friend, as I heard afterwards, were both faithful. I came to a pond about noon, where I just washed and refreshed myself, and kept going on, till at length I espied the white cliff of Yong-gorvo. It is very high, and looked like land seen seven or eight leagues at sea, but I was not discouraged, and two hours before night I was at the foot of it. It is a good half-hour's brisk walk to go up the hill to Deaan Afferrer's town, where I at length arrived, and went directly to him. He thought when he saw me that I came with a message from Deaan Mevarrow, but I threw myself at his feet and begged his protection, telling him all the hardships I had endured by my master's barbarity, and the imminent danger my life was in every day, and now more than ever.

He no sooner perceived the reason of my coming than I discovered a pleasure in his countenance, and he told me he would protect me, and I should be no longer a slave; he would give me a gun, and I should do nothing but go along with him. Now carrying a gun here, like wearing a sword in England, is the mark of a gentleman. Says he, "You look with this lance in your hand like a Mall-a-coss * (which is a nickname they give the meanest of the natives), "you shall appear like a white man as you are." I licked his feet with great satisfaction, and returned him thanks; nor did I forget to acknowledge

* "L'isle Sainct Laurens est par les Géographes nommée Madagascars, par les habitans du pais Madecase." Flacourt calls the people "*Madecasses.*" Cauche speaks of (1661) the Malegasses.

the goodness of God, who had thus far prospered my endeavours for liberty, and to desire His further assistance.

When I told them I came in one day from my own house there was nobody gave credit to it, but about a week after came two messengers from Deaan Mevarrow to demand his white slave, and to reproach Deaan Afferrer for not sending me back by some of his own people as soon as I arrived there. This haughty message made him laugh. Says he, "Send him back! and by my own people too! and his white slave! Nobody ever saw a white man a slave before, nor has he any right to make a slave of him. I look upon him as a distressed man, fled to me for relief, and I will not expose him to misery. I shall not make a slave of him; he is at his liberty, and may stay with me or go anywhere else whenever he pleases." He said a great deal more relating to our people and Deaan Crindo, which being to the same purpose as others have said before I shall not repeat. In short, he convinced the two men, insomuch that they excused themselves, saying they only came with a message. And, says he, I only tell you what to say to Deaan Mevarrow, and then entered into a familiar conversation with them, and asked them the day I came away. When they told him he was surprised, and so were they to find I had walked it all in one day, for I don't think it less than sixty English miles. I could not forbear reflecting on them for having faith in these Umossees. "See," says I, "how my legs are broken, and how the spirits have hindered me." They said I was a white man, and they had no power over me. After Deaan Afferrer had ordered them a house and provisions, and I had inquired after my wife, I took my leave of them with pleasure, for I had some doubt before what might be the effect of Deaan Mevarrow's demanding me.

And now I lived, indeed, with more freedom than ever I did before, for I walked about with my gun on my shoulder, ate when the Deaan ate, though not in the same dish, for no one does that here. I had nothing to do but to go along with him hunting, by which means I made myself perfect in all the ways of taking wild cattle. My main business was observing the country, and inquiring the way which Ry-Nanno was expected to come.

I chose to go often on hunting on purpose to take notice of the notable mountains; which might be so many landmarks to me. Here is besides Vohitch Futey,* or White Hill, another very high mountain more to the northward, called Vohitch Manner, or Red Hill. It is like a sugar-loaf, and runs towering up a great height: the inhabitants think it to be the highest in the world. After I had lived thus six months, almost the only time that I did not go hunting with them Ry-Nanno met them accidentally in the forest as he was coming to give Deaan Crindo and the other lords notice of the Feraignher army being on their march. This was such pleasing news to me that I could not tell how to conceal my joy, and therefore walked into the woods, for fear they should discover my intention by my behaviour. I would have returned God thanks in English for the hopes I had of getting to a sea-port town, but found I had forgotten my native language, and could scarce put three English words together. However, the Madagascar tongue served me well enough to express my pious sentiments.

Deaan Afferrer told me, when I came home, of his seeing Ry-Nanno, and the news he brought of Rer Vovvern's death, and his son, Deaan Mernaugha, succeeding him; and of his nephew, Deaan Trongha, commanding the army, assisted by his brother, Rer Befaugher, and Deaan Mernaugha's brother, Rer Mundrosser. As I was talking with the Deaan I could not help saying I was sorry for Rer Vovvern's death, because he was so good a friend to white men. I perceived immediately he suspected my design, but it was in a civil manner, he told me he hoped I had no occasion to change my place of abode through his usage of me; to which I replied, and thanked him for his favours, and said, "I had no thoughts of changing my habitation; that I was sensible I lived as well or better than I could do anywhere else." And indeed this was true, for he treated me very handsomely. I ate and drank as he did, and did no work, but I found by this that he was not willing to part with me, and therefore I was obliged to be more close

* Ambohipotsy and Ambohitsmene. These mountains are shown on Flacourt's map close by the Mandrere river.

and cunning than I should have been had I not made this discovery.

Now orders were sent to the three towns under Deaan Afferrer's command that no one should go out hunting of wild cattle, but prepare to hunt the wild boar, by which they meant the King of Merfaughla; and all hands were at work cleaning and fitting up their arms, for here are artificers who can make or mend a spring, and do several other things to guns as well as lances. The women made caps to distinguish us in the wars—they are made of the same as our mats; the children beat Guinea corn for to carry with us. I made ready Deaan Afferrer's and my own gun, and cast shot, or rather slugs, by making a hole in clay with a round stick to cast the lead in, and cutting it in pieces about half an inch long. They also buy shot at the seaports; but this was made, as I guess, of the lead which they had from the wreck of our ship.

Ry-Nanno went back to Deaan Trongha, to meet him at Vohitch Manner* according to appointment, and in a fortnight's time. Deaan Crindo sent orders for us to march and meet him at the river, where we watered our cattle in Deaan Murnanzack's country. I might have stayed at home, but was resolved at the hazard of my life to go with them. I told Deaan Afferrer I was afraid of my old master, Mevarrow, whom to be sure I should see there; but he bid me not be uneasy, for he would protect me, and Deaan Mevarrow would not make a disturbance in the army. But it happened better than I expected, for Mevarrow was left at home sick of the colah, which is what is called in Guinea, or the West Indies, the Yaws.

It was good news to me to hear that Deaan Mevarrow was left at home infected with this distemper, and that Deaan Sambo commanded the people in his room. I knew experimentally this last was none of my enemy, though the same evening he came he demanded me in his brother's name; but

* "Vohitsmene or Ambohitsmene lieth North and by West from Antavare, and takes name from aforesaid high Red Mountain in 19 deg. and a half S. Lat.; which may be seen fifteen leagues off at sea. Resembles Table Mountain at the Cape of Good Hope" (*Ogilby*).

when Deaan Afferrer expostulated the case, and told him what he had said to the former messengers, and added, "That it was natural for a man to fly for his life who was every day in fear of it, and used like a brute, even though he had been a lawful slave, which he insisted on was not my case." Deaan Sambo soon gave up the argument, and turned to me, asking "If he had not several times saved me, and bade me not be afraid, for he would not insist on it any more, desiring I would come often and see him as a friend." I gratefully acknowledged his favours, and thanked him for this last signal one, for he confirmed the account I had given of myself before.

Deaan Crindo having notice of the day the Feraingher army would join them, put himself in order to receive them with a great deal of form and ceremony. He was seated under a great tamarind tree, his sons according to their seniority on his right hand, and all their people; on his left were Deaan Murnanzack and his brethren, with all their people, forming a line of above a quarter of a mile in length. After a little while the Feraingher army appeared, and as they approached us they came dancing with each a gun in their left hand and a lance in the right, their shells sounding and drums beating. At a little distance they fired some pieces to salute us, which was returned on our side, and now the three generals, Deaan Trongha, Rer Befaugher, and Rer Mundrosser, went up to Deaan Crindo and the rest, and after the usual salutations they were all seated under the tamarind tree, and ten calabashes of toak sent for by Deaan Crindo to entertain them. I sat all this while behind Deaan Afferrer with his gun in my hand. After mutual assurances of their league of friendship they settled the division of the prizes of cattle, which was that Deaan Crindo and his sons should have one third, Deaan Murnanzack and his brethren another third, and Deaan Trongha and his brother and cousin the other.

After they had settled their own affairs, and began to be cheerful over their toak, says Deaan Trongha—

"You have got a white man amongst you, I see."

"Yes," says Deaan Crindo, "this is one of those who took me and my nephew prisoners, and would have delivered us into Deaan Tuley-Noro's hands, who was our enemy."

"I don't think," says Deaan Trongha, "they would have done you any harm; you must certainly have done them some great injury first."

"I did them no wrong," replied the other, "unless maintaining them well was wronging them. They wanted, indeed, to go to Antenosa, and I would keep them with me to assist in the wars."

"And was not this," says Deaan Trongha, "a great injury, and a just provocation, to keep free men against their will in a strange country? But I will relate a very remarkable affair of my grandfather's with these white men before he was well acquainted with them.

"There came an English ship to our sea town (which they call St. Augustine Bay) for to buy provisions and get water; they did not go up to my grandfather's town, but he went down to them, and presented the captain with two oxen, as a free gift; and the captain freely gave him a gun, and some powder and shot. The white men built a house on the shore to put some sick men in. It happened some days after we had been here that the white men and some of ours got drunk together, and a quarrel arose among them. They beat one another with their fists at first, but at length weapons were used, and a white man was killed by one of ours. So soon as the news was carried to the ship, the captain came on shore, and after inquiring into the matter, he took hold of the king, while his people ran to the boat and fetched their arms. My father and Rer Vovvern immediately headed our people, and would have fought them, but were hindered by my grandfather, for he was sure of being killed by one side or the other; so he went quietly on board their ship. The fishermen were not at all afraid of the white men, notwithstanding this disturbance, for they knew them well, and were acquainted with their manners; so they went on board and asked, 'What the captain required of the king?' He said, 'Satisfaction for the white man who was killed.' They returned, and asked in the name of the king's two sons, 'What satisfaction they demanded?' The captain replied, 'They must send him the man who killed the Englishman, and ten oxen for the damage.' The fisherman had no more wit than to deliver his message in public, which

the murderer hearing, ran directly in the woods, so that when they sent to take him he was gone. The fisherman returned to the captain and told him they had made diligent search for the man, but he was fled, and if he would have a slave or two, or twenty oxen, they were ready to give it him. The captain was very angry at this, and sent word that he would have the same man, for he had murdered his man barbarously; and if they did not find him, he would keep their father. But he would grant them ten days time to search for him.

"During these ten days my grandfather's legs had irons upon them to keep him from getting away, but he ate and drank with the captain all the time, and was very civilly treated. When the ten days were expired, and the captain was satisfied they could not find the murderer, he took the irons off the king's legs, and asked him if he would enter into a religious oath never to wrong any Englishman, nor suffer his people to do it; to which my grandfather readily agreed. And after he had dined with the captain, they came on shore together. 'How,' says Deaan Crindo, 'do you and your family eat with white men?'* 'Yes,' says Deaan Trongha, 'we Andry Voler† (which is the surname of the family) do eat out of the same dish and drink out of the same cup, and esteem them as our own family. We never pretend to assume a power over them; they come, and go, and do as they please with us; and if any idle fellows do ill things, their captains do not hinder their being punished. We have great profit by these white men coming amongst us, which they would not do if we did not treat them civilly. Besides, our grandfather has bound us all with an oath and a curse on all our posterity who shall use an Englishman ill; for when he and the captain came on shore,

* The inhabitants, both *Whites* and *Blacks*, observe a peculiar and evil custom in eating, though their victuals is dress'd very neatly and handsomely. The people of the *Rohandrians* eat with Rohandrians; the *Lohavohits* with *Lohavohits;* the Ontsoa's with their own Tribe, and never intermixedly; insomuch that no *Rohandrian* Woman, married to an *Anakandrian*, will endure that her Husband should eat with her. But in Manghabis the slaves eat with their Masters (*Ogilby*).

† *Andria Valona*, a rank of nobles.

the Owley was brought out, and they swore solemnly to a perpetual friendship, which we do all strictly observe, and think God will not prosper us if we break it.

"My grandfather gave the captain twenty oxen, which he received, but he would return the full value of them in guns and other things. And if we had this white man amongst us, we should give him clothes which his countrymen have left who died there. Says Deaan Crindo, 'He will hardly wear any of his own country clothes again.'" Better you were hanged, thought I, though I durst not say so.

The next day we marched to the borders of Merfaughla and encamped; I lay always in Deaan Afferrer's tent. The next morning we decamped again, and marched a great way into the country towards Manner-ronder* (a small river passing by Woozington's chief town). We passed through several small towns, but found them all deserted by the inhabitants; and, by the dryness of the dung of the cattle, we judged they had been gone a fortnight; for Woozington was a politic man, and would leave nothing for us to live on, neither would he waste his army in fruitless skirmishes and weak attempts, but wait till he had obtained the knowledge of our strength by his spies, and also got all the force he could to oppose us. A man came to me privately from Deaan Trongha with a message that he desired to speak with me. To which I answered, I would as soon as I could possibly contrive to come without any notice taken; which I accomplished in two or three days, telling Deaan Afferrer I was going to see Deaan Sambo. To this he replied, I need not ask him leave; yet he bid me not go anywhere else: by which I knew well what he meant, and that he was jealous of me. However, I returned, and by private ways in the dark got to Deaan Trongha's tent. There were a great many with him. He spoke to me in English, asking me how I did; I was forced to answer in the Madagascar language, telling him I had forgot to speak my mother tongue. This, and my being naked, moved his compassion, that he spake as tender things to me as my own father could, and wished he

* "Menerandre, another small river, two miles west of Manamba pours down out of Machicore and runs south-south west" (*Ogilby, after Flacourt*).

could find any means to take me with him; he would send me home in the first ship. While we were talking Rer Befaugher came in, who, taking me by the hand, said, "Ah, brother, how do you do?" I could answer, "Very well," but could speak no more English without a mixture of this country language. They told me there had lately been some English men-of-war to seek for pirates, and they had directed them to St. Mary's and Mattatanna, on the other side of the island; that there was but one white man then amongst them, and he was a Dutchman; an Englishman had been killed not long since in the wars. I told him I resolved at the hazard of my life to escape and follow them; but they said they would buy me if they gave six slaves for me. After thanks for their civility, and agreeing not to take any public notice of one another, I took my leave of them and went to Deaan Sambo's tent, who also treated me very handsomely, telling me he was going to live by himself, and asked me if I would come to him, which I promised to do; I took my leave and returned to our tent. The next morning a consultation was held, in which it was resolved to divide the army into three parts, and march abreast one another, but at the distance of a quarter of a mile. We saw nobody all this while till we were near the chief town, and then we perceived spies observing us, but the town was deserted. We passed the river Manner-ronder and encamped on the plain, where we had not been long before three men came and called to our people, and bid them tell Deaan Crindo that Deaan Woozington would come and pay him a visit the next morning. Now he was a cunning man and full of stratagems; so, notwithstanding this bold challenge, they knew he would endeavour to surprise or overreach them by policy, so we went hard to work every man to fortify the camp, which was formed in a circle. Trees were cut down, and forked limbs set up; the spaces filled with great pieces of wood piled one on another length ways, four feet high, and joining close, made a wall of it; then we dug the ground about a foot deep and about seven feet wide, throwing up the earth against the wooden pile, making the wall stronger; we left only two narrow entrances. The loose small boughs with the leaves on were thrown, as it were, carelessly without side

to hide the fortification, so that it seemed like nothing but a common way they have of concealing their numbers. When we made our camp secure, some cattle were killed, and all hands to supper, and then we laid down under our tent cloths, for we did not set up our tents nor pull off our lambers, but lay close under the fortification, ready for an attack. The slaves who carried the provisions were placed in the centre.

We arose at daybreak, putting our guns through holes in our wall left on purpose, and kneeled to fight with the more ease and better aim. We had not been up above ten minutes before we saw them coming down furiously upon us. While we were attending to receive them, another party appeared on the opposite side, thinking to have come on our backs, but we being in a ring were all front. Our shells were sounded, and our drums beat, but we soon changed this for another sort of noise. When they came within thirty yards they fired briskly, still coming forward, and, thinking nothing of our wall, expected we should soon give way from behind the boughs. I observed their eyes red with smoking Jermaughler, which made them more daring than usual. (I shall describe this after the relation of the fight.) Ry-Opheck, with a body of men, attacked one of the entrances of our camp; he came jumping along, his eyes like fire, a lance in one hand, a gun in the other, and his people running after him so furiously that Trodaughe, who should have defended the passage, gave way with his people. We were employed on our side, and did not know it till he had got within our camp, when, one of our chief men turning and seeing Ry-Opheck stabbing our men and they running before, fired at him and shot him in the belly. When he found himself wounded he went back again, and fell about thirty or forty yards from the place; his people ran back when he did, instead of revenging him. (See how common men mimic a general's behaviour!) But when they saw him fall, they returned to bring off his body, and this brought on a fierce contest in the open field, for Deaan Afferrer leaped over the works, and most of us who were his people after him, and made them retire. Here a man, distinguishable from the rest by his yellowish colour, and who seemed of superior rank, took aim at me, and missing, I returned his

compliment, wounded him in the thigh, and, running up to him, found his hand full of powder to charge again, and menacing with his countenance and words; but I snatched his lance from him, and prevented him from doing any further mischief to me or anybody else. Another such push on the opposite side entirely defeated the enemy that they fled, and we pursued them, but not far, because we would not divide ourselves, lest Woozington should have turned and took the advantage of our disorder, which he would certainly have done had an opportunity presented.

When we returned to our camp the Deaans all assembled at Deaan Crindo's tent, who took notice of every man according to his merit, thanking them for their conduct and bravery. He next inquired of every one what men they had lost, and found not above sixteen killed and thirteen wounded. Then he sent out to count the dead bodies of the enemy, and found one hundred and seventy-five, among whom were sixteen great men, two of Woozington's younger sons, Metorolahatch and Rer Fungenzer, his nephews, Ry-Opheck and Rer Chula; the others' names I never knew. Deaan Crindo ordered the bodies of these sixteen to be cut to pieces and thrown about the field, that their friends might not bury them. We marched two or three days after further into Merfaughla, plundering and spoiling their plantations.

"These people being more addicted to smoke Jermaughler than others, it will be proper to describe it here. It is a plant about five feet high, bearing a small long leaf and a cod containing about a dozen seeds like hemp-seed. They mix the leaves and seeds together, lay them in the sun three or four days till they are very dry, and then they are fit to be smoked. They make pipes of a reed, or rather small cane, and sometimes they have a very long shell which does well enough. It makes them drunk; their eyes look red and fiery, and their looks wild and fierce. It is easy to know a man who smokes Jermaughler.*

* "Hemp there called *Ahetsmanga Ahetsboule*, which *Flacourt* affirms, both in stalk, leaf and seed, not to differ from that of Europe. This Hemp (saith the same *Flacourt*) the inhabitants plant with great diligence, and the dry'd leaf they take in stead of Tobacco, which hath a stupifying quality, causing Drowsiness, Sleep and

While the effects last they are more vigorous and fierce, being as it were distracted. Those who use it much are good for nothing but when they are drunk with it. I had once the curiosity to try a little myself; it made my head swim that I was sick and, as it were, drunk for three days, so that I never meddled any more with it."

We were two days before our spies could discover any cattle. At length they came and told us they had heard the bellowing of some, and a thousand men were ordered to fetch them. They were gone a week, but they returned with above two thousand beeves and two hundred and fifty captives, women and children. This great prize made them eager to go again; so, on a consultation, a camp was formed and fortified as before, in which Deaan Crindo remained with four thousand men, while two thousand went out to plunder; and when they returned other two thousand were to go.

Deaan Afferrer, Deaan Sambo, Rer Mimebolambo, and Rer Befaugher went out with two thousand men. We had three or four for guides, who knew the country well, and where they used to feed their cattle; nevertheless, we were two days before we came into any of their tracks, and then they were all drove off, and, as appeared by their marks, different ways. So our army divided; Deaan Sambo and Rer Befaugher went to the northward, and we to the south-west. We marched in the tracks all day, and the next night being moonshine, in the morning we found ourselves near the sea, where they had drove the beasts to the water's edge that the ebbing and flowing and wash of the sea might efface their footsteps on the sands, which in a great measure it did; but we marched on all day till we found out where they turned out towards the woods. The next morning our spies came in and told us they heard a cow bellow. We soon came to the plain, where we found above an hundred; but these did not satisfy us, and therefore, well observing their footsteps, we traced them farther and found eight or nine hundred. Here were two or

pleasant Dreams. Those that are not us'd to take it, lie two or three days together as if they were distracted. . . . In the *East-Indies* they have a like sort of plant called *Bangue*, and producing the same effects" (*Ogilby*).

three hundred sheep, which we killed; the best of them we dressed for meat, and left the others to rot. But we wanted water, having had none for near two days. At length one of our scouts discovered a pond of thick water, where the cattle used to drink, and this, hot and foul as it was, we eagerly drank, no better being to be got. Till this time we saw no enemies, though we expected them, for the cowherds fled from the cattle in our sight, no doubt to alarm their masters. And as some of us were taking up this water as clean as we could in our calabashes, one of our company was stooping down, washing his lamber, a volley of shot was fired among us before we perceived anybody. We looked up and saw about eight or ten men running back into the wood, which was extended along on the other side the water within three or four score yards. We fired some shot at them, but they vanished out of sight. There was none of us hurt but the man who was washing his lamber, and he received a shot in his back, which instantly killed him.

Notwithstanding I had been superstitiously addicted to regard certain fixed characters or hieroglyphics when they happened to me in dreams (which was but seldom), and used to find they foretold things to me, yet I could not help observing what a remarkable instance we had here of the vanity of trusting to dreams, and I did not fail to make use of it to Deaan Afferrer, and to turn their superstitious praying to their Owleys into ridicule. For he, seeing me come in a hurry, and having heard guns go off, asked, "What news?" I told him, "Nothing but a man was killed by the order of his gods." "How!" says the Deaan, "by the order of his gods! What do you mean by that?" "Why," says I, "a man prayed to his Owley last night, and, when he went to lie down, bid it be sure to come when he was asleep. According to his desire the demon which attends his Owley came and told him in a dream, or, which is all one, he dreamed he told him, that he must wash his lamber the next morning. In obedience to this divine vision he went along with us to the watering place, having no other business there, and, stooping to wash his lamber, was killed by a shot which he received in his back from some of our fugitive enemies, who fired, ran

away, and hurt no other man." I had no fear of Deaan Afferrer's being angry with me; persecution for differing from them in religion is not yet thought of there.

I remember one instance whilst I lived with Deaan Mevarrow of a more stupid blind bigotry than this—a young man who had an Owley, the demon of which was called Ry-leffu. He prayed one night to him, and Ry-leffu came in a dream, telling him his brother must shoot at him. Away he goes, early in the morning, above an hour's walk to his brother, telling his dream, and desiring him to perform the order of Ry-leffu. His brother persuaded him against it, but the other replied, "It must be done, or worse will follow." "Well, then," says he, "I will shoot towards you and miss you." "No," says the devout man, "it must be done according to order, without evasion, and the demon will certainly defend me from hurt." The brother at length was overruled, and loads his piece, but would stand about thirty yards and fire at his lower parts; notwithstanding his care he broke a leg, and then, reflecting on his own credulity to be wrought upon to do so much damage, ran lamenting to assist the wounded bigot. In short, with the usual means, but not without some of the fat of a sacrifice, which was laid on the Owley of Ry-leffu, he was cured, though he never perfectly recovered the use of his leg.

We drove our cattle to the seaside, the same way we came, by the water's edge, and went round that bay which is called St. John's. I took good notice of it; there is a ridge of rocks which seemed to me to extend quite athwart it, so as to leave no entrance; but if there was a channel wide enough for ships to come in, it would be an excellent harbour, for the water is very smooth within. I heard that hereabouts on the coast of Merfaughla,* a French ship was cast away two or three years before ours, and the people all murdered; but the reason, or any particulars thereof, I could not learn. They have no canoes, neither here nor in Anterndroea, therefore

* Ance de Caremboulles, where, according to Flacourt, a large Dutch ship was wrecked, and two-thirds of the crew died of hunger.

The *Bay of St. John* is marked in Thornton's chart of 1703, afterwards named Port Croker by Owen. Its native name is *Ampalaza*, *i.e.*, "a place of masts" or wreckage.

they can have no commerce with ships; for they are people of the most treacherous dispositions to white men of any in the island. Whether their little acquaintance with Europeans makes them afraid of them, I know they have notions that white men are very much addicted to fighting, and are not so tender-hearted as themselves. This may be a great reason of their destroying them for very slight provocations, for they always think the white men have some barbarous designs on them. So that they are ever suspicious and on their guard, dreading the daring boldness and superior skill the Europeans have of them in war.*

As to their mercy, where they have conquered them, as in Antenosa the French did, they made slaves of them, inverted the whole order of their Government, and being chiefly ignorant seamen, who pretended thus to rule, they regarded neither morality, civility, nor common decency, making no distinction of persons, confounding all order, and treating every black man as if he was a brute, so much beneath themselves as not to have a claim in their opinions to the common natural rights of human creatures; so that killing them was no more than killing a brute. I do not make this as a national reflection on the French only, though were credit to be given to half what the natives say, there were many scandalous and horrid things done. Our own countrymen are not to be exempted from the just cause of this scandal on

* "He (Pronis) rendered himself guilty of a new crime by publicly selling to Vander Mester, the governor of Mauritius, all the unfortunate Malegaches who were in the service of the establishment. What raised the indignation of the islanders to the highest pitch upon this occasion was that there were amongst these slaves sixteen women of the race of the Lohavohits. When the company were informed of this shameful conduct they deprived Pronis of his commission. Flacourt was chosen to succeed him. . . . I shall not here trace out a picture of the cruelty, injustice and oppression, which that governor exercised towards the unfortunate islanders. . . . The manner in which Flacourt violated that hospitality which had been so generously shown him, cannot be defended in an enlightened age. . . . He was unjust and cruel towards a people, who, being the proprietors of the country, ought to have given laws to him instead of receiving them" (*The Abbé Rochon*, 1742).

white men; for the behaviour of English pirates, and others too, who are not willing to be called so, has been very barbarous. And in the countries of Anterndroea and Merfaughla, where only strange stories are told, and they have no experimental knowledge to distinguish that wicked men are the production of every land, and having here seen no good ones, every white man is looked on as not less a monster than we think a cannibal.

We returned to our camp with the cattle four days before Rer Befaugher, who also got a good prize of captives, which they discovered by seeing a smoke; they had cattle too. Deaan Crindo was impatient to be at home, for fear Deaan Woozington should go into his country to plunder it; but Rer Mundrosser and Deaan Mussecoro would go in their turn to see what they could get, and returned with slaves and cattle. We had no enemy all this while came near us, Deaan Tronglia staying in the camp after we returned. I told Deaan Afferrer I would go and see Deaan Sambo, as before, on purpose to cover my visit to the other. He treated me with the same civility as at first; but while we were talking, in came one of Deaan Afferrer's slaves, and told me his master wanted to speak with me. I durst not go aside to speak privately to Deaan Trongha before him, nor would I stay, as he would have had me, but went directly along with the man, dreading ill-treatment. When I came, he was in a violent passion, charging me with deceiving him, and asking, "Whether I went to agree about going away with them? However, he would take care I should not go out of Anterndroea. I might go anywhere among their countrymen; but he would not part with me." I found he would be my master, though he was a much better than Deaan Mevarrow, for he neither offered to kill or strike me. It was fourteen days before Rer Mundrosser returned; he also brought slaves and cattle. The cattle were divided the next day, and the army marched back into Anterndroea, for Deaan Crindo would not agree to let the Feraingher people go home till they had accompanied him into his own country out of danger. Our habitation on Yong-gorvo hills was in the way. The night before we parted, Deaan Trongha, with his brother and cousin, came to take

their leave of Deaan Afferrer. After some other discourse, he asked him if he would part with his white man, and he would give three slaves for him. This was a handsome price, but my master, for so I must call him, said he would not take three times three for me. So no more was said, and Deaan Trongha went away. I had an opportunity the next morning, before they marched, to see one of the Feraingher men, and bid him tell his general that I would be with them in three or four days, for I was resolved to run away and follow their tracks. But I was prevented at present, for, being suspected, two men were ordered never to let me go out of sight, night or day, till we got home; and for two months after I was never suffered to go anywhere without somebody with me.

Before I take my leave of Anterndroea, it will be but just to give my readers an account of what few things I noted, and have not hitherto been described, and which indeed are but few, considering the many things which a curious person would have employed himself in observing; but when it is considered how young I was when I came here, how I passed the prime of my years in slavery among these illiterate people, and the little or no hopes I had of ever getting off the island, I dare say it will not be expected I should at this time have known what was worth a curious person's regard. However, I shall not supply these defects of mine, as many travellers have done, with inventions of their own. Things that were for the use of mankind I could not help knowing. What are in common with other places, such as bananas, plantains, monkeys, turtle, and an hundred other such like, I have no occasion to describe here.

Near the seaside there is no good thing to be found, either on the trees or within the earth, for at least three or four miles, nothing but short prickly wood, bearing no eatable fruit.* In the country there is great variety of fruit, among which is a currant, growing on a tree, not a bush, as in Europe; it is very pleasant. Here is a very large tree that bears a plum,

* There are very many prickly plants, such as the *Tsiafakomby*, *i.e.*, "not passable by oxen" (*Cæsalpinia* sp.), a mimosa-like shrub with hooked thorns; also the prickly-pear (Opuntia) called *raiketra*, and euphorbias of sorts.

which is black when ripe, and as big as a cherry, with little stones like grapes; there are thorns on the tree two inches long.* Here is a fruit like a sloe, growing also on a prickly bush; but it is very sweet. Another fruit grows on very tall trees, speckled like a sparrow's egg, and in the same form, full of seeds and a sweet juice. It is held a certain cure for fluxes; the leaf of it is like a pear-tree leaf.† Here is a tree whose leaves and tender sprigs sting like nettles. The root of this is of great use in scarcity of water, which is in a great many parts of this country, and this root being spungy, it retains a great deal of juice. We beat it in a wooden mortar, in which we beat our Guinea corn, and squeeze the liquor out. The bark of the tree is good to make ropes of.‡ Here is good wood for building, as also cedar and ebony, but none fit to make ship masts of. The plains are well covered with several sorts of grass, and of different colours, which grow to a much greater height than any in England. They never cut any for hay, for before the old is dead, new is sprung up under it; but they commonly set the old grass on fire. Here is also tobacco, which is smoked in reeds or shells, as some do the Germaughla.

When I was in Deaan Murnanzack's country, I went sometimes a-fishing; but, as I said before, they have no canoes, so we only go on the rocks and fish with hooks and lines, never with nets. We used commonly to go by night at low water, with lights, and take the fish out of deep little holes (asleep, as the negroes say). Here are a great many lobsters and craw-fish; they never run away when they see the lights. We have also a sharp pike made on purpose to stick fish. Here are eels, also the sword-fish, and some such fish as are

* The Madagascar plum, "*Hamouton*, hath no stone, but instead thereof ten or twelve kernels. There is another sort of *Alamouton* called *Issaye*, like great sloes."

† "The wood (of the Dragon Tree) looks white, but subject to decay in a short time: the leaves are like those of the *Pear Tree*. . . . The gum of the bark cures the Bloody Flux" (*Ogilby*).

‡ The *Amiana* is a soft wooded tree whose trunk sometimes measures five feet in circumference. It bears a large velvety leaf, covered with hairs, which sting like those of a nettle (*Urera radula*).

common to other countries in the same climate; but many such as I never saw anywhere else. Here is one fish, round like a turnip and full of prickles; I suppose it may be called the sea hedge-hog; but in their language it is called sorer-reake. Here are also good turtle.

I never knew of any beasts of prey, such as tigers, lion &c.; the wild foxes, wild boars, and wild dogs are the wo we have in Anterndroea. Here is a creature of the serpen kind and form, very large,* one of which I killed by tearing i great jaws asunder with my hands; it was not venomous, no did I ever know of a serpent which killed or hurt any man by its venom during the whole time of my being here. They have bit people, and the same hurt has accrued as is usua from the bite of any beast, and no worse.

While I was in Yong-gorvo, our business and diversion was chiefly hunting of wild cattle; and here I observed the peopl call these cattle Hattoy's cattle, or Anomebay Rer Hattoy The tradition they have of their original is that these cattl belonged to a great man called Rer Hattoy, and he being very covetous would kill none, but let them increase and ru about where they would. He lived in the wild forest, but his family and people, after his death, went to live with a king o an inland dominion called Untomaroche,† and left most o their cattle behind. Others say that Rer Hattoy was killed with most of his people, and, the other cattle being better esteemed, his were neglected, and being in the forests, the increased without interruption. But this does not accoun for the way they came into the island. This Hattoy, they say, was a native, so that I rather think these were t original cattle of the country, and the tame beeves w imported, because on the coast of Natal and Dilligoe in Afr there are the same cattle with humps on their backs. The were preferred to the others, and bred up while Hattoy's wer

* "*Mandouts* are a sort of snakes as thick as a Man's Arm, but no venomous, yet much feared by the Inhabitants. It feeds upon Ra and small Birds, which they fetch out of the Wastes" (*Ogilby*).

† "*Untomaroche.*" Can this be what is marked *Vatomanahou* i Flacourt's map? "*Hattoy*" is also puzzling; it may be meant either for *Vato* or *Hazon*.

SAKALAVA OF WEST MADAGASCAR, WEARING THE LAM A.

.ected. And what confirms this opinion is, here are two rts of people, as if they were two distinct species of .ankind, of which I shall have an occasion to give a large ccount in its proper place.

After Deaan Afferrer had narrowly watched me for about two months, till he thought the track of the Ferainghcr army was not to be found, by the grass being grown, he took me with him to hunt these Hattoy's cattle again. We had very good sport, had it not ended tragically, for we killed five cows, and were going away, but a bull ran off with a lance in his belly, and we, not being willing to lose it, ran after him and stuck two or three more in his sides. When he felt his wounds smart, he grew enraged and turned to us. One bold man threw another lance and hit him on the back. He ran directly at the man who hurt him; we halloaed to frighten him off, but he pursued his enemy, and overtaking him, tossed him some yards above his head. The ground was stony where he fell, and we durst not throw lances for fear of hitting the man, who was all this while endeavouring to rise; but the bull pushed him down as often as he attempted it, trampling on him with his feet and pushing with his horns, he soon killed him, having broken his ribs. When we saw the man was dead, we threw more lances till the bull fell down like a log. I have known them fight so long that they have been dead before they fell, having fixed their feet wide and died standing so firm that we have been forced to pull them down by the tail. They were obliged to dress the meat this evening because of going home the next day with the corpse of their neighbour. After we had roasted the beef and supped, we made up our enters against the next morning. I packed up as much as I could well carry, for I was resolved to go away this night. I laid down when the rest did, but could not sleep for thinking of the hazardous journey I was going to undertake. Every one else slept sound, being tired and their bellies full, so that about midnight I took up my burden and walked away, directing my course to the northward, not without recommending myself to God's providence to be my conductor.

The direction I had from Ry-Nanno, and which I found on inquiry from others was to go to the southward till I came to

Vohitch futey, and leave it on my right hand, directing my course between the north and west till I came to the great river Oneghaloyhe,* which goes to St. Augustine Bay, then keep along the river till I should see high land running along the westernmost parts of the forest, and then pass over the river and go away to the westward.

I walked very hard all night, and when day appeared I saw the white mountains very near. By this I found I had made a great progress, and therefore would not hide myself as I at first designed, but proceeded on my journey, looking well about me, conceiving how hard it would be for them to overtake and find me if they attempted it. I went very merrily on, singing Madagascar songs, for I had forgot to sing in English. The noise of the wild cattle would sometimes make me start, thinking they were my pursuers. I came to a pleasant brook, where I baited, and at sunset looked out for a covert in a thicket to lie in. I found none but what was too far out of my way, so I contented myself with lying in the open plain, pulling up grass for a bed, and a stone pillow, making a small fire to warm my beef. I durst not make a great one for fear of being espied at a distance, for in the afternoon I could discern some fires to the eastward of the mountain. I was disturbed in my sleep by night-walkers whom I took for furious pursuers, and accordingly took up my lances to defend myself; but when I was perfectly awake found they were only some of the inhabitants of the forest Hattoy's cattle, snorting at the smell of my fire, and ran away much more afraid of me than I of them.

The second day in the morning I stayed till the sun appeared before I went forward, that I might know how to steer my course, for, being abreast of Vohitch futey, I walked more moderately, and though I was out of danger of being over

* "*Yonglahe*, a great River. . . . It riseth out of the Mountain of *Manamboulle*, and runs to the West, having its outlet Southerly into the Sea by a very fair *Bay*, call'd by the Portuguese, *St. Augustine*, but by the Inhabitants *Ongelahe*. It lieth in three and twenty degrees South-Latitude, defended from hurtful Winds, and from the South to the North-west, passable for great Ships; yet hath some Cliffs lying on both sides dangerous for their coming in" (*Ogilby*).

taken by Deaan Afferrer's people, yet I did not know what other men might be in the forest hunting of beeves, so that I was very circumspect. Nothing remarkable happened this day; I looked out for a lodging early this evening, seeing the clouds gathered black, and found a large thick tree, where I made a fire, warmed some meat, and hung up the rest to keep it as dry as I could, for I had nothing else that the rain could hurt. At length it came, as I expected, in a violent manner, with thunder and lightning; it soon came through my roof; I crowded myself together, with my head on my knees, my hands betwixt my legs, and my little lamber covered my ears. The rain ran down like a flood, but it being warm I did not much regard it. In three or four hours it was fair weather, and I laid down and slept sound.

The next morning I dried my beef at a fire which I made on purpose, for it was the third day since it was killed; but I was very careful of it, not knowing how to kill more at that time, so I made it up in clean grass and went forward. The mountains over which I was to pass seemed very high, craggy, and thick with wood, and no path nor opening to be found. It looked somewhat dismal, but I was resolutely bent to run all hazards. Those mountains seemed to me to run quite thwart the island, and appeared like, what we call at sea, double land, one hill behind another. I saw nothing all this day but wild cattle, and now and then a wild dog; it was fair weather, and I slept sound this night.

The fourth day I walked till noon, when I baited to dine; my beef was now very indifferent. As I was walking forward in the afternoon I saw about a dozen men before me. I skulked in a bush, peeping to see if they had discovered me; but was soon out of my pain, observing them surrounding some cattle a good way to the westward on a hill. I was also on another hill, so that I perceived them throw their lances, and discerned three beeves fall, which I was sure were more than they could carry away at once. I stayed where I was, resolving, when they were gone, to have some beef. They soon fell to work cutting up the beasts, and making every man his burden, hanging the rest up in a tree, that the wild dogs should not get it, and went home to the eastward. When

they were gone, and I had looked well about me, I threw away my stinking meat, went to the tree, and took as much as I could well carry, with which I marched toward the mountains, not daring to rest for fear they should return and espy me. In an hour's time I got to the foot of the hills in the thick woods, and seeing no path, nor track of men, nor any hopes of finding any, not knowing which way to look for one, I resolved to go through all; but happening on a run of water, I took up my quarters near it, made a fire, cut some wooden spits, and roasted my beef. I kept my fire burning all night for fear the foxes should come and attack me.*

The next morning I made up my enter with grass, binding it with bark of trees, and proceeded up the hill. My burden was now much lighter. I got to the top in an hour, though I found no path but what swine had made, which was not always in my way. I perceived here was faungidge and verlaway enough, which pleased me, though I did not at present want it. I climbed a high tree to look about me, but could discover no entrance; nothing but hills and vales one beyond another; a cragged dismal wilderness was all which presented itself to my view. I would have gone down again had there not been danger of being seen by the hunters; besides, I could not tell whether to look east or west for the passage, so setting a lance up on end, I turned the way it fell, though I thought it was due north, or rather a little to the eastward. However, superstition prevailed where reason had nothing to offer, for I was as likely to be right that way as any other, and if I went to the northward, so long as I knew it, I must go when I could to the westward, as sailors are forced to do sometimes, run their latitude first, and their longitude after. I went down this hill and up another, which took me about an hour's walk; but when I came to descend this it was steep right up and down. I unwarily threw down my lances, hatchet, and burden, thinking to go down by a very tall tree, whose top branches just reached close to the brow,

* There are no wild *Foxes* in Madagascar—what Drury mistook for foxes must have been the animals which Flacourt mentions as *Fosse* and *Farassa*, species of *viverra*. There are very few carnivores in Madagascar, but one, *cryptoprocta ferox*, is alone dangerous.

but could not do it; yet rather than lose my lances, I made ropes of the bark of a tree, and fastening them to the strongest branches, slid down, I dare say, not less than thirty feet. I passed over a fine spring and run of water in the vale; the hill on the other side was a craggy, steep rock: however, I found a way to ascend, and on the top climbed a tree again; but there was the same dismal prospect. Here I dug faungidge, it being sunset, and espying a hole in a large rock, I designed to take up my lodging there; but peeping in, of a sudden I heard such an outcry, which, with the echo in the rock, made so confused a noise that I knew not what to make of it. My fears prevailed, and I imagined pursuers and enemies, for it drew nearer; so setting my back to a tree, with my two lances in my hand, I waited for the murderers, when immediately came squeaking towards me a herd of wild swine, who ran away as much frightened as myself. When I had recovered my senses, I made two fires for fear of foxes, and laid down on my hard bed, for here was no grass, and a stony place.*

The next morning, which was the sixth day, I made a very good breakfast with faungidge and beef, and the hill extending north and south, I went straight on till it gradually declined into a valley, in which was a small river running westward: and I am apt to think it was the head of Manner-ronder, near which we fought Deaan Woozington. By the time I arrived to the top of the next hill it was near evening; for I was not much less than two hours ascending it; and yet I went no small pace considering my burden, though it was not very heavy now. As I was looking out for the best lodging, that is, a place with the fairest stones in it, I espied a swarm of bees; this was a joyful sight, for it was food that would not corrupt with keeping: I soon cut down a vounturk to put the honey in, and smoked them out.

I made such an hearty and agreeable supper this night, with

* A similar incident is recorded by D. E. V. of Jauval in 1662, at the north-east of Madagascar:—"The wild boars had been the greatest inconvenience to him, obliging him to sleep on the trees for fear of being devoured by them, for he had no arms with which to defend himself."

honey, faungidge, and beef, that I slept too sound; even till I was waked with a severe correction for my thoughtless security.* A fox had got hold of my heel, and was for dragging me along; I startled, and catching a fire-brand, gave him a blow, which staggered him; but he recovering, flew at my face. I was up by this time, and recovered one of my lances, with which I prevented his ever assaulting me again; but he made such a howling as brought several more about him. I saw three, with their eyes sparkling, but they kept at a distance; for I soon made a blaze with some light dry wood I had laid near me on purpose to keep a flame all night, but did not wake to renew it, as I should have done, so that my two fires, being reduced to embers, one of them ventured between them; and it is well he did not seize my throat first, for I have known such an accident when men have negligently slept where they haunt. After I had made up my fires, and drove away my enemies, I examined my heel, and found two holes on each side, made by his teeth; I bound it up with a piece of my lamber, as well as I could, and making a great fire, threw the fox upon it by way of revenge. I had none of that pleasure in eating my breakfast this morning as I had in my last night's supper. Besides, my beef was a little too tender now; but as I had honey enough for a week, and faungidge easy to be found, I did not much trouble myself.

I walked on this seventh day, favouring my lame foot, resting once only all day. This way happened to be plain and easy. At evening I came to a place where several bodies of trees, dead and dry, lay: this I thought was a proper lodging; so making four fires, very large, I sat me down to supper, and ventured to sleep with my fires round me; but my heel now pained me extremely, and was much swelled, so that I could not go forward the next day; but finding faungidge within twenty or thirty yards of me, I digged several, and contented myself to remain here till my foot should be better. My beef was soon gone, but faungidge was both water and food. I saved some of my beef fat to dress my heel with; which, with the rest I gave it, in six days took away all the swelling; for so long I remained here. During which time I made such

* This must have been a cryptoprocta.

large fires by night, that, if they could have been seen, were like those of a great army. I had not far to go for wood, or anything else which I wanted, or at least which I could hope for here.

After this six days' rest, it being the fourteenth since I left Deaan Afferrer, I went forward and passed over three very high hills that day. My honey was now gone, and I could find no more; so that faungidge was my diet.

The fifteenth day I walked very stoutly again, and passed over several rough, craggy hills, which were very tiresome. I always took care to get dry wood enough, for I never lay down without four fires.

The sixteenth day I had not travelled three hours when I perceived the earth to be of another colour; it was chalky before, and now clay. This excited my curiosity to climb the first high tree I could, from which I discovered an opening to the northward, which gave me no little pleasure; but it was at a greater distance than I could reach that night; so I took up my lodging as before. I was disturbed this night by a herd of wild swine.

The seventeenth day I walked very hard, being in haste to get through this wilderness; it was still up and down hills. About noon I got into the open country, and could look about with pleasure, and walk on level ground. I was like a man delivered from a prison, having been twelve days in this mountainous wilderness. I was almost six days actually travelling, and I think I did not walk less than twenty miles a day. It might have been passed in three days if I had been so fortunate as to have found the path.

I had not been long in the plain before I arrived at a little wood, where I took up my lodging; because here was firing enough, and faungidge, which I was not a little glad to see, having been in some fear of wanting provision in the plains; but I had yet a far greater hope of being supplied, for I was waked in the night by the roaring of a bull, by which I found myself sure it was the great northern forest of wild cattle which Ry-Nanno had told me of.

The next day, which was the eighteenth, I saw several herds of Hattoy's cattle, and found here were more than in the

southern forest. I looked about me, to see if I could discover hunters, or if I could observe the crows to hover about any particular place; for I might then expect a beast, who had been wounded, was fallen there. In the afternoon I came to a river, which was deep and large. As I was seeking for a place to wade, or swim over, I saw a large alligator. I still walked on the banks, and saw three more. This was a mortifying sight, and almost dispirited me. I walked till I came to a shallower place, and went into the river about ten yards, thinking to have swam over the rest in four or five minutes; but before I swam, I espied an alligator making toward me. I ran back, and he pursued, till I got into very shallow water, and then he returned into the deep; for they never attack a man on shore. It vexed me to be stopped by a river not above an hundred yards over.* At length I remembered when I was at Bengal, where are the largest alligators in the world, and who have been so bold as to take a man out of a shallow boat, that if we came off from the shore in the night, we made a small fire at the head, and another at the stern of the boat, which the alligator would not come near. Distress puts a man on invention; something like this must be done; for here was no dwelling, nor going back; so choosing a stick fit for a fire-brand, I cut it into long splinters, and waited till it was almost dark; then binding my two fire-sticks to the top of one of my lances, with the two lances and hatchet in one hand, my fire-brand burning in the other, and my lamber twisted, and tied fast about my lances, I went into the water (recommending myself to Providence), turned on my back, and swam over.

The place where I chose to swim over had a gap through the thickets on each side over against one another, which made it look like an accustomed passage, either for men or cattle. I was no sooner landed than I heard some wild cattle feeding; so speedily extinguishing my fire, and silently washing myself, that they should not smell me, I stood close under cover of a thick bush in the passage, where I expected they would come to drink. The wind was fortunately with them, by which means they could not scent me, though they snorted

* *Vide ante*, p. 43.

often to smell for enemies. I stood ready with my lance, and did not wait long before a vast herd came, running through the passage to the river; and as they went I pushed my lance, as forcibly as I was able, into above forty of them, endeavouring to hit them in the belly. They ran roaring, fighting, and pushing one another, as it were to revenge the blows they felt, not expecting any other enemies but what were amongst themselves. I thought I had wounded enough, and hoped some would prove mortal, but would not run any hazard by night, contenting myself to stay without roast meat this evening, securing myself from their attacks in a thick wood. The next morning, when I went to see what execution I had done, I found one bull and three cows on the sand. I soon cut up the youngest and fattest, carrying it to my quarters near which I made an oven to bake it. This is common, though I have not before described it; but it is thus made: "A hole is dug, about five feet long, two over, and about three deep; this is filled with wood, and kindled; on the top of the fire I put about a dozen great stones, which might weigh each a pound. While the fire was burning, I cut the bark off the tree succore, took the outer part away, and the inner being pliable, and lying flat, I made the cover of the oven. When the fire was burnt to embers, I laid three or four green sticks across for my beef to rest on; the stones being red-hot, were placed about the bottom and sides; over the top more sticks, and then the bark covering all close with the earth. This is our manner of baking meat in the forests." I broiled some for my breakfast, and then went out to see if I had done any more execution, and found six more beeves dead, up and down the plain; but I had enough here. When I came back my beef was baked, and as well done as it would have been at any baker's in London. When it was cold I made it up in an enter, but went no farther this day.

The next morning, which was the twentieth since my setting out, I went forward well pleased with my load. I discovered smoke to the eastward, but saw no people; wild cattle, here were many herds. There being several little woods in this plain, I never wanted a covert for a lodging, nor grass to make a tolerable soft bed on. The country was pleasant, and

travelling easy; insomuch that I resolved, if it should be my misfortune to meet with as bad a master as Mevarrow, and no hopes of getting to England, that I would run away, and live by myself in this forest.

The twenty-first day, in the morning, I saw several wild dogs fighting, and pulling down a bull, whom I suppose had been wounded before; for I never knew the dogs attack them else. I had no business to interrupt them, and if I had it would have been very dangerous; for though they do not seek out and assault a man, yet on provocation they have been known to destroy men. This night was the first time I ever felt mosquitoes in the island; * for lying in the evening in a covert, near a run of water, they so stung me, that I was forced to shift my lodgings; and being moonlight, I got up and walked three or four miles farther to the top of a hill, where I rested quietly. I had no occasion to light above one fire, for here was very little danger of wild beasts.

The twenty-second day I discovered a fog in one long canal from east to west; which continuing all day, and at a vast distance, I conceived it to hang over the great river Oneghaloyhe, which runs into Augustine Bay. This put new vigour into me to think I was approaching to a seaport. I saw two men this day carrying beef, and would have spoken with them; but they dropped their enters, and ran from me, though I called, and laid down mine, and went towards them. When they thought I was gone I saw them return and take up their beef again.

The twenty-third day, in the morning, I saw the fog again, which looked much nearer. I walked very hard, being desirous to come to the river, though it was afternoon before I arrived within a mile of it; and then the bushes and thorny small

* On approaching the Onitahy river, Mr. Richardson wrote in 1877: "The mosquitoes in this place were most voracious; it was impossible to keep them out of the tent. I was obliged to put out my light and pace about outside until I was completely tired out; and when I did go to bed I was awake for hours, beating and flapping about my hands and handkerchief to keep away the little pests; and how the men slept out in the open air, is more than I can imagine" (*Lights and Shadows*, p. 52).

wood were so thick, that it was with great difficulty and many rents in my skin that I got to the river-side. When I saw the vast breadth of the river I was surprised; for I dare say it was not less than twice as broad as the Thames at London.* I had been informed that near the head of it a man might wade over; but they always had canoes to transport themselves over other parts; whether they sent them up the river before, or where they got them, I know not; I had no such help. I made my fire, went to supper, and laid down to sleep, or rather to consider of some invention to get over. In the morning I resolved to look for some old trees fallen, or branches, and in a few hours happened on some fit for my purpose: some bodies of trees, and great arms broken off by tempests. These I dragged down to the river-side; next I sought for a strong creeper, which is as large as withy, but twining round trees, is pliable; I cut the superfluous branches off of six long and thick arms of the trees, and placing three above the other three, I bound them together, making what is called in the East Indies a cattamarran. I built it afloat in the water, or I could not have launched it, and moored it to a lance, which I stuck in the shore on purpose; I then fixed my enter to preserve it as dry as I could, also my hatchet and the other lance; then I made a paddle to row with, and pulling up my lance, I kept it in my hand to defend myself against the alligators if they should assault me; for I was informed they were very fierce here. It blowed a fresh gale at west against the stream, which in the middle made a sea that did not a little terrify me, fearing I should be overset and become a prey to the alligators. However, it pleased God to protect me, and I arrived safe on the other side. I thought I had made a very good day's work, so went but little further that evening before I took up my lodging.

* "Soon after leaving Ivòhibé we came upon the Onitahy, and followed its course for a little distance, the sand being very troublesome to the men. We crossed a little to the east of Lànjarivo. The course of the river is very wide in this neighbourhood. The sands gave evidence of its being quite a mile broad in the rainy season, whilst its breadth in the dry is several hundred yards. The short men had difficulty in fording, and the tallest were up to the chin in the water" (*Rev. J. Richardson*, 1877).

The twenty-fourth day I travelled a great way; nothing remarkable happened. I saw a few wild cattle, but not so many as on the other side the river; and those I saw were more shy than in the forest, by which I supposed it to be an inhabited country.

The twenty-fifth day my burden grew light, and began to smell; but I did not much trouble myself at that, being resolved to speak with the first people I could see. For I remembered that Deaan Trongha told me his town was close to this river on the north side. I passed through a fordable river, which runs into the great one. This is a most pleasant country: here are abundance of palmetto trees, which in their language are called satter-futey.* They bear a long leaf like a cocoanut tree, but another sort of fruit; of these leaves the people make baskets, caps, &c. I saw no wild cattle all this day.

The twenty-sixth day I walked very hard, baited in the heat of the day, and in the afternoon, going forward again, I espied a smoke, and being resolved to speak with those who made it, I mended my pace, lest they should be only passengers, who baited as I did, and would be gone; but I soon heard children's tongues. At the instant they saw me they ran into the wood where I had seen the smoke, and immediately came out three men armed with guns and lances. I looked behind me for a shelter, not knowing what to think of them, and retired back a little; which they perceiving, left their guns with the children, and came toward me. I then went to meet them, and called at a distance to know what king they belonged to. They answered, "Deaan Mernaugha;" and as a further token, seeing me a white man, spoke two or three words in broken English. They then approached near, and we shook hands, saluting one another with the usual compliment, "Salamonger:" they desired me to go with them to their cottages, where we sat down, and I gave them an account of my travels. They said they had heard of me, and having

* *Palmetto* Trees. *Satrana* is a fan-palm, and *Satrantoloho* is the species of *Hyphæne*, or *Borassus*, used by the Sakalava for making baskets, caps, &c. *Satra-fotsy* would be the word Drury uses.

susers * boiling, they desired me to eat with them; after which I inquired of the news of the country relating to their trade, war, and peace; and one of them gave me the following melancholy account of it.

"That their late king, Rer Vovvern, had killed himself with grief at an invasion, which Rer Trimmonongarevo made with nine thousand men, and took his two daughters captive. Rer Vovvern followed him with seven thousand, but the other by a stratagem the meantime got privately into Feraingher, and plundered it. Deaan Woozington at the same time attacked the southern parts, having made canoes, and passed the great river, the other passages being stopped. He took also a great many people, but Deaan Trongha and his brother, Rer Bafaugher, who remained at home with two thousand men, routed him, and prevented his carrying away the captives, which so enraged Woozington's barbarous disposition, that he slew a great many women and children. Rer Trimmonongarevo took a contrary method, for he sent messages inviting the people to come and live in his country, and be his subjects, and he would give them their wives and children again; which promise he performed, and still continues, so that many hundreds are gone away. And he still embarrasses us so much, that we who are not willing to leave our native country, are many of us forced to fly into these forests and lonely places to be safe, contenting ourselves with what the country produces naturally, as you see we do; for we dare not plant nor keep cattle, for fear of being surprised. We have another petty king in the mountains, who takes this opportunity to make inroads, and helps to impoverish us, so that we are surrounded with enemies; and those who remain in towns are almost famished; for we have no friends but white men, and there has been no ship come a long time; and when they know our poverty they will come no more. Thus this, which was lately the most flourishing kingdom in the island, is reduced to almost nothing."

This melancholy story so shocked me, that I sat mute and stupid, till the man perceiving it roused me by asking my

* "*Susers*" (Sufers?) must be the roots of the *ouvis* or waterlilies which Ogilby says are eaten boyled or roasted like Chesnuts.

name, and if I would not go to the king first before I went to Deaan Trongha, as (they said) was my duty. But I told them I was a free man, and would do as I had already acquainted them; so giving me a mat I lay down, thinking of the hard fate which prosecuted me; but as Providence had conducted me hitherto, I did not doubt, in due time, my deliverance would be perfected; and with this resignation I went to sleep.

These men were very civil to me, desiring I would stay two or three days; but I only breakfasted there, giving them some beef which they wanted; though mine was far from good. When they found I would stay no longer, they made me up a bundle of roasted susers to carry with me, and accompanied me till I got into the path, showing me how to find these susers, which till then I had not seen. They grow like wild yams. Here were also berbows * and wild yams, which were their principal food. This was the twenty-seventh day of my travels. I turned out of the path into a wood, looking for such an inn as had served me many a night before; which I soon found, made a fire, supped, and slept very contentedly.

The next morning I met four men, who told me I could not reach Deaan Trongha's town; but I might Rer Bafaugher's, and he would send a man with me. My way lay over a high hill, from whence I saw the sea and the road where the ships used to lie in Augustine Bay; on the other hand the great river, and the country very pleasant along its banks. When I came to the bottom, some boys, who looked after cattle, came running to me, for they are not afraid of white men; and one of them very civilly would go and show me the way to the town. When I came there the people stared at me, wondering what sort of a white man I was without clothes; some said a ship was arrived; but most said I could not come from a ship naked, and without a hat. When I came near Rer Bafaugher's house, I saw him look at me, not knowing me at first; but when I came nearer he got up from his seat, clapped his hand to his mouth, and cried, "Ah! Ry-Robin,

* *Berbows?* *Voabe*, a cucurbitaceous plant, affording food to the Sakalava, in times of scarcity (*Richardson*).

how came you here?" He embraced me as if I had been his brother. When I was seated several came about me; some who knew me in the army asked me who accompanied me, and wondered how I could find the way alone. But when I told them how I missed the way, and came through the mountainous wilderness, and of my inventions to pass the rivers, they were surprised.

Rer Bafaugher took me into his house, and at supper we ate out of one dish. He had roast beef, and his wife brought milk on purpose for me. I asked him about the state of the country, and he gave me much the same account I had before, adding, "He expected every day that Rer Trimmonongarevo would come and take the whole country, for they had no force able to resist him; however, they who were the pillars of the land would stand till they were cut down by death, and not fly. For, indeed," said he, "we have nowhere to go but into the sea, and we don't understand living there as you white men do."

When we had supped and talked till I was sleepy, he sent a man with me to a house prepared on purpose. The next morning I desired he would please to send a man to show me the way to Deaan Trongha's; but he would go himself. I told him it was beneath his dignity to attend a slave as I was. He said, "He never thought white men slaves, and that he had waited on many; and Rer Vovvern and he too had taken care of some, clothing and maintaining them, though they did not deserve it, but they did it for the sake of others. For," says he, "here come some very bad people, who quarrel with one another, and come ashore, and never go aboard again, behaving themselves very ill." I asked him what they traded for here. He said, "Nothing but provisions, for which they gave them gold and silver money, and sometimes pieces of silk, and when they sail away no one knows to what country they go, nor themselves neither: for they are wicked, careless wretches, and all their business is to rob other ships." I told him, "They did not do well to assist them or sell them provision; and that the Government of England was at a great charge to fit out ships on purpose to destroy them, for they spoil the merchants' trade and were a scandal to their country." He said, "The

generality of the English were good people, and by the trade they drove with them were a great benefit to the country; that he had been on board some ships, and found some captains were honest men, for they used to treat him very civilly, and give him wine, punch, and brandy, and sometimes they had another liquor, which was very bitter. They loved it themselves; it was tied down with iron,* but he had forgot the name." I told him it was beer. He said, "Yes, but he could never drink it." Thus we went chatting all the way to Deaan Trongha's, which was about two hours' walk. When we came to the town the people flocked about me, some saying, "A Samb-Tuley!" which is, "A ship has arrived!" but others said, "No! for men come not naked from a ship."

When I came before Deaan Trongha I found he did not know me. I offered to kneel and lick his feet, but he would not suffer me, saying, "Let him be who he will, he is a white man, and they shall never lick black men's feet." At length his brother told him who I was. He no sooner heard it than he rose and embraced me with a great deal of joy and friendship, and after sitting down and giving them an account of my travels, and some admirations had been made, he told me I was still very unfortunate, for they were in a very poor condition, and I should be disappointed if I expected to live happy here. I told him it could not be worse than it had been with me hitherto, and I was resolved to live with him, and serve him, if he pleased to accept of my service, as long as I lived, unless he would be so good as to send me home when a ship came. He told me I should fare as himself, for he looked on it as his duty to relieve a distressed white man, for the benefit he and his family had received by my countrymen. In short, he received me with that affection, and treated me with so much tenderness, that my own father could not have showed more compassion. He lamented very much the calamity of his country, and said he was afraid the white men would know it, and not come to trade with them and give him an opportunity of sending me home.

After I had eaten and drank with him, he took his leave of

* Surely this is the first historical mention of bottled bitter beer in corked bottles fastened down with wire?

his brother, being obliged to go with other people to guard the slaves who were at work in the plantations, lest they should be surprised and taken by small parties of their northern enemy, who skulked in covert places on purpose to sally out and carry off what they could get on a sudden, and run away again. A little way out of town we came to a large thicket of wild canes, reeds, and rushes, in which were the plantations, bounded on the other side with the great river Oneghaloyhe. Here were plantains, bananas, sugar-canes, and rice. All these were not common to the southern country from whence I came; but here were also a great many things which I had seen before, as anbotty,* anchoroko, &c. These were all newly planted and sown, for the enemy had destroyed all the plantations in the inroad they made, whilst Deaan Trongha, &c., were in the late war in Merfaughla. I was in some fear he was going to set me to work, but this was soon dissipated when he gave me his gun, and told me, since I was willing to call myself his servant, all he would require of me should be to carry his gun, and take care, when I had it, never to be the length of it from him, that he might reach it in case of a surprise.

As we went homewards some of our people climbed up tamarind trees, and gathered a great deal of the fruit. I asked them what they did with it. They said, "Eat it." I told them, "It was impossible to eat much of it without setting their teeth on edge."† They said, "It is sour enough, indeed, if we do not put ashes to it to make it sweet." I laughed at them for their ignorance, but when I came home there were platters full of it mixed for our supper. The strings of the tamarinds appearing in it, and being white when thus mixed, I could not forbear thinking it like mortar with hair in it; but tasting, I found it as they said, very sweet. Nevertheless, I

* *Ambotty*, *Ambatry*; the French "Embrevate" species of *Cajanus*, the seed of which is used for food. *Antsotry* is another similar seed plant. *Tsako* is the Sakalava for maize.

† "Afin d'empeschér que le tamarind ne leur agasse les dents, et qu'il ne leur nuise à cause de son acidité, ils broyent ce fruit auec des cendres, et en font des pelottes qu'ils auallent" (Flacourt, *Histoire de Madagascar*, 1661).

could not be reconciled to it at first, being prepossessed, as men too often are, even against the testimony of their senses. Deaan Trongha, seeing the grimace I made, told me "That this was always held a pleasant dish, when they had the greatest plenty of other things. Now, indeed," says he, "we have sometimes nothing else to eat." I have seen many unexpected, strange, and odd things eaten, but nothing ever surprised me so much as sour tamarinds, mixed with wood ashes, becoming sweet and eatable. Let the chemists reason and philosophize upon it at their leisure, I do assure them of the truth of the fact, and can bring some gentlemen, now living in London, to testify the same, that have seen me mix it. It did not well agree with me the first time I ate it, making a rumbling disorder in my stomach. I suppose it fermented there; but after I was used to it I never found any inconvenience attend it.

Deaan Trongha had two wives, each having a house to herself. He divided himself pretty equally between them, living near as much at the one house as at the other, for peace' sake. Now it is usual for them to appoint every slave his proper mistress, whose commands he is to attend, and she is to see what they want and give it them. He did not appoint me any such service, but said I was a distressed man, cast by Providence amongst them, and it was their duty to provide for such. But he had a more particular regard to me for the sake of my fathers and brothers (meaning Englishmen), and he had therefore ordered that I should be taken care of at both their houses, and therefore bid me go to them at my pleasure, where I found the best provision, and as long as there was meat I had my part with them. I observed, notwithstanding, he behaved himself with decency to them both, yet his first wife had some preference to the other; and we therefore distinguished her by the title of his head-wife. He was at her house when I first came, and when he gave these directions; so she immediately furnished me with a pot or two, calabash, &c., for my use; but not having all I wanted, he sent a man with me to the other, and she as readily supplied me with what I had occasion for, chiding me, in a friendly manner, for not coming sooner to see her. So I sat down and had half an

hour's conversation with her, they both behaving themselves with great civility to me.

The next morning came two messengers from Deaan Mernaugha, the king desiring Deaan Trongha to go and consult with him on affairs of importance. They were going away, but, notwithstanding it was such a scarce time, he would not let them depart till he had killed a heifer to entertain them with. And here, as in Anterndroea, I found the same generous manner of treating one another; for most of the people in town came near the house, and none went away without a piece of beef. They have but a slovenly way of dressing their meat here: for the liver, as soon as it was taken out, was thrown into the midst of the fire and broiled in the ashes and smoke, and the entrails, with very little cleaning, were broiled. I had a piece of beef given me to dress at home, and we all lived well while this lasted. When I went the next morning the Deaan was dressing himself to go, for notwithstanding he had no clothes to put on, yet his hair took up some time to curl up and plait in knots, and he was shaved neatly. Then the Owley was brought out and dressed to be carried before him, for he went in state. There was not a sincere and hearty friendship between Deaan Mernaugha and him, which made him go in more form than he otherwise would have done. I carried his gun after him. We marched up an easy ascent of nearly two miles, when I perceived we were near the sea. The descent on the other side extended to the shore of St. Augustine Bay, where ships usually ride. Here Deaan Trongha showed me where the English built their houses while they remained here to trade. It was an agreeable prospect to me, though there were no ships. I saw some canoes a great way out at sea; the men were striking and darting at fish, and some were in the water, not knee deep, at the same sport, for the sand is almost flat, so that one may walk near a mile into the sea at low-water. The sea coast lay near north and south; from whence I came it lay east and west. After we had passed through a wood on a point of land, we came among the towns belonging to Deaan Mernaugha. The people all wondered to see a white man naked, and took me at first for the Dutchman who had lived among them, and

and who would sometimes have very odd frolics. But my fame soon went before me, and I was known when I came to Deaan Mernaugha's, for after the usual compliments were over, I not being in sight, having delivered my master his gun, he asked where was the white man who came from Anterndroea; on which I came forward, and was seated among them, the king asking me of my travels and fortune, and I gratified him with my whole story at large. A bullock was given Deaan Trongha for his and his retinue's entertainment.

At night a consultation was held on the affair they met about. There were none admitted to this but a few principal men, among whom I had the honour to be; and to my great mortification heard Deaan Mernaugha propose to send nine or ten hundred people, under Deaan Trongha's command, as before, into Merfaughla, to join with Deaan Crindo against Deaan Woozington. This was approved of and agreed to; the manner and time was appointed, which was to be some months after. When we came away, Deaan Trongha told me they had all of them confidence in me, knowing it to be my interest to keep their secrets. "But," says he, "a more than ordinary care is necessary now, for the common people desert us, and go to live under other lords if they don't like our proceedings, though all we aim at is their own good and safety. But they have not the sense to know it, and will always be censuring our conduct and finding fault, though we lose our wives, families, and cattle, and run the hazard of our lives to protect them. It is natural for mean people to abuse their governors, but governors must do good to their country and defend mankind from injuries, and never regard these reflections. But, then, we must keep secret those things which we know beforehand; they have not sense to understand nor judge of." I assured him of my fidelity, but told him I was under great concern at what I heard, being afraid he would desire me to go with him, where I should see my former master, Mevarrow, whose barbarous disposition I had too much experience of not to dread the consequence of being within his power. He replied I never could be in his power any more, for they know, says he, my resolution, and that it would be dangerous for any man to provoke me to such a degree, since

it might be the ruin of the whole army; for he would protect me at the hazard of his own life, and revenge with the utmost rigour any injury that should be done to me. I was not entirely satisfied, though, knowing him to be a man of strict honour, I had some security in depending on it. When I returned to my companions they endeavoured to sift out of me the matter of their council; but I told them, with a very negligent air, "That I stood at a distance, and did not mind one word they said."

Deaan Trongha took his leave the next morning, telling the king, his nephew, his Owley had in the night warned him of some danger attending his town from the enemy if he stayed long. I desired, since I was on this side of the country, I might go and see Eglasse, the Dutchman. The Deaan told me he would make it in his way home. The children surprised Eglasse when they came running to him, and cried, "Arve, verzahar!"—that is, "A white man is coming!"—for he knew of none in the country. There was living near him one Efflep, a negro of the West Indies, who was left ashore by pirates many years before, and spoke nothing but English. He was very deaf, and therefore never learned the Madagascar language, but he had two sons born on this island of a native mother, who spoke both languages. When I approached Eglasse he pulled off his hat to me, but poor Robin had none to return the compliment with. He spoke Dutch to me at first, but perceiving I did not understand it, he spoke a little broken English, and I had as little to answer him in. I asked for an interpreter to speak English for me, which set Deaan Trongha and all of them laughing at first; but they afterwards pitied my hard fortune to have lived all the prime of my days in a foreign country. But James, who was Efflep's eldest son, carried on a conversation amongst us to all our satisfaction. Eglasse asked me to live constantly with him, but I told him I would not leave Deaan Trongha; in which I was in good earnest, for he was a man generous and humane, of great authority, and therefore an able protector. But I desired they would get leave of him to let me stay two or three days with them, which they did, and he as readily agreed to give me a week. I had heard but an indifferent character of Eglasse's

temper. He was rash and passionate, and would, on every trivial occasion, threaten the great men, and even the king himself, with what he would do when a ship came. This imprudent behaviour rendered him distasteful to them, and I was therefore afraid to enter into too strict an amity with him, and it will appear, by and by, that I was right, for his continued indecent behaviour cost him his life at last.

We having now taken our leave of Deaan Trongha and his retinue, the pot was set on by a slave named Toby, with a piece of salt beef and potatoes, after the English manner. In the meantime, Eglasse desired James to relate to me the history of his arrival and adventures here; and this conducing to my purpose, which is to give all the account I can of the different customs and manners of this island as may be useful to traders and navigators, and pleasing to the curious, I shall here transcribe as he then told it:—

"At a place called Masseelege, on this island to the northward, there comes once a year a Moorish ship, bringing silk lambers and many other things, to trade with for slaves. At this place one Burgess,* called Captain Burgess, and Robert Arnold had a sloop. Burgess commanded, for Arnold knew nothing of navigation, though he was as rich as the other and as much concerned in the vessel. With this sloop they used to come to Augustine Bay and other places on the island to buy slaves and carry them to Masseelege against the Moors' ship arrived. Eglasse sailed with them in this sloop. In one of their voyages to this place Burgess and Arnold quarrelled, and it came to that height that Arnold would stay no longer with him; but engaging Eglasse to come on shore for his companion, he brought all his effects with him—which were very considerable—several bags of dollars, a great many guns, powder, shot, chests of clothes, beads, &c.; in short, everything which is proper to trade with here. He told Eglasse that if he survived him he should have all his effects, but their design was only to stay till a ship arrived in which they could procure a passage to Europe. Whether they dared go to England I

* One Hans Burgen, a Dane, commanding a ship, is mentioned by Downing in connection with Captain Avery's piracies on this coast.

cannot truly say, for I had some reason to think a great part of these riches were obtained by piracy. There were two black slaves, this Toby and another, who will be here presently called Robin, both of whom speak good English. These swam ashore the same night Captain Burgess sailed away and surrendered themselves to Arnold.

"It happened a little before Rer Vovvern's death (and which was indeed the occasion of his death) that this country was invaded by two enemies at once. While the greater part of the lords and people were gone to oppose the northern enemy, the southern one, Woozington, came unexpectedly on us, having passed the great river unsuspected by us; and a bold general of his, named Ry-Opheck, attacked the town and king's house in the night; Rer Vovvern himself was wounded in the thigh. Another party came towards us; everybody was for flying to some shelter as is usual, and indeed necessary in such cases; but Arnold and Eglasse having great riches were resolved to defend it, and therefore armed themselves with guns, pistols, and cutlasses; but they no sooner appeared at their door than Arnold was shot dead. Eglasse was then glad to fly with his two slaves, Robin and Toby, for they never left him. The enemy plundered the house of what they thought fit, which was all his wearing apparel, or anything like it, even his beds for the ticking's sake; the silver being black they did not know it, therefore contented themselves with throwing it about. They killed the cattle they found in the pens; for they had not time nor strength enough to carry them off and defend themselves when once the country made head against them. However, they took some captives and marched away in as great haste as they came, for fear of Deaan Mundrosser, our present king's brother, who is beloved by his countrymen, and feared by his enemies; for we have not a greater man in war than he, except Deaan Trongha. Ry-Opheck's fears and haste were just and proper, for Deaan Mundrosser mustered an army in a few hours and overtook them before they could pass the river. The sound of his shells made them hasten over, but so precipitately, that they left their captives behind; and he brought most of our women and children again, so that we lost but little. For as to our valuable goods; we who well

knew the danger of a surprise, and the manner of the country, had dug holes in the ground, and buried, and they had no time to search for them. When my father, Efflep, my brother, and self returned, we missed none of our goods, but were sorely afflicted and surprised to find Arnold dead and naked, for they had stripped him of his clothes; but as to his dollars, they lay neglected and scattered up and down, till some of our own people, who knew their use and value, took up a great many and concealed them from Eglasse. We threatened some of them, and made them return what they had stolen, complaining to Deaan Mernaugha; but they were above half lost. Eglasse was so terrified, that he never returned till some messengers, sent out to see if they could find him living or dead, happened on him and conducted him and his two slaves home. He lives very handsomely though he lost so much, having a plantation of his own and three or four cows which give milk; and he is able to join with my father to buy an ox, notwithstanding it is a very dear time. A good one is worth now ten dollars. Our king Rer Vovvern died more with grief than of his wound, in six weeks after. He was very well beloved, being a good man and gallant warrior; also a great friend to white men, more especially to the English. But I must not forget to tell you, here is another family you must be acquainted with too, and that is one Hempshire, a Guinea negro, who was formerly among the pirates, but has been settled here a great while. He has a very pretty woman to his wife, and also a daughter by her; the man is blind and poor, but Eglasse makes him many presents, though we think it is out of respect to his wife, for they are very intimate."

Here Eglasse interrupted James, on hearing his own name and Mrs. Hempshire's often placed together, suspecting that James was telling me of their supposed amour; so he broke off the discourse; though James said he was only telling how Christian-like he behaved to Hempshire and his family; but by this time dinner was ready. I found myself here a perfect negro in my way and manner, for I devoured my meat alone, which made them laugh; but what was a greater mortification was, Hempshire, his wife, and child came to see me and Eglasse; they talked of my adventures in English, and it

seemed like unintelligible sounds of a strange language, which I could not form my tongue to imitate, insomuch that I was in fear I should never be able to speak my mother-tongue again. But a few days' conversation among these people gave me hopes of remembering it in time. Efflep and his sons were next neighbours to Eglasse, where I was invited the next day and treated in a very handsome English manner, better than at Eglasse's. Here were a couple of capons boiled with rice, like a pilaw, also another dish of fried meat and boiled potatoes, served up on pewter plates; so that I began to think myself in a Christian country. They also procured some toak for me, as Eglasse had done before; but it was scarce, honey not being to be got. This was made of sugar-canes, which were also scarce now, and the toak was much inferior to what we had to the southward; but it was strong enough to make us a little merry.

When the week was expired I would stay no longer, though they importuned me, telling them I would get leave to come again in a short time; nor would I accept of a guide, well knowing I could find the way. When I came to the seaside, I saw a sail as I thought, though it proved only a large canoe, which was returning from sea where they had been fishing. I waited till they came on shore, when the men seeing me white, though naked, came up to me, and we had a great deal of discourse, they being very inquisitive after my strange fate. I related all I could to them, and inquired after shipping. At the end of our conversation they made me a present of as much fish as I could well carry with me. When I came home to my own house, I picked out four of the best fish, and went to wait on my mistresses, presenting each of them with two. When Deaan Trongha came home he was surprised to find fish there, and highly pleased that I was come; but he would not suffer me to lick his feet. He had been all day in the plantations forwarding the work, that they might have provision when they returned from the war; for everybody was busy preparing for it. He told me he had ordered one of his wives to make me a cap such as we used to wear to know one another by. I did not like the proposal, but there was no help. He gave out to his wives and people that their design

was against Deaan Morrocheruck, a petty king in the neighbouring mountains; this he did lest some of his people should desert, and alarm the country of Merfaughla.

When I returned to my house I found visitors enough who came to see me for the sake of my fish; but as it was customary, and I used to do so myself, I could not take it ill; so I shared it out as far as it would go.

I slept but this one night in quiet; the next morning I was called up to attend the Deaan, with his gun, at the plantation. He then thought of nothing extraordinary, but before mid-day came a messenger running in haste with the news that an army of ten thousand Saccalauvors * (our northern enemies) were at a town called Murnumbo, within ten or twelve hours' march of us. Deaan Trongha had not patience to hear the whole story before he ordered his slaves to leave work and go home. The hoes and spades were thrown aside, and the lances taken in hand, every man running home to get ready for a march. Messengers were sent to Rer Bafaugher and all the other neighbouring lords to come and assist in repulsing the enemy. Some of the chief men of each town were ordered to stay at home, with a sufficient force to defend their families and cattle, if Woozington should be at hand as he was before, to attack the towns by surprise, while the fighting men were all engaged another way. I went home under pretence of whetting my lances, but with a design to be out of sight and forgotten; which succeeded accordingly, for they soon marched away. When I was certain they were gone, I went in great haste to the chief lady's house, asking for my master; and being told he was gone, I pretended to be in a great hurry to

* This seems to be the first historical mention of the Sakalava, the name of the tribe (or rather the common name of a great many tribes) inhabiting the western part of the island. The meaning of the word is much disputed; thus a kind of snake is called *Saka-lava*. *Saka-lava* also means "long cats," and *Saka-lava* may mean simply the long enemy, or enemy. It was in this sense that it has been used by the Hova tribes who are called by the Sakalava *amboa-lambo*, or Boar dogs. The Sakalava of to-day derive their name from *Sakany*, breadth, and *lavany*, length. Mr. Jorgensen supposes that the name is really a native corruption of foreign words.

follow him, but the women would not suffer me, ordering the men, who were left as a guard, to stop me. At length I was persuaded to stay, and sat very contentedly among the women; most in town, and the children too, were assembled at the house and about it. Their clamour, praying and crying for their husbands, and ignorant chat of the war, was troublesome enough, but not so bad as running the hazard of losing life or limb in fighting the quarrel of a people I was not concerned for. The conversation I had with these women put me in a melancholy humour, in bringing to remembrance the pleasure I used to enjoy in my wife's company; to whom, in my opinion, they were all inferior.

During the men's absence we had little else to live on but tamarinds and ashes, except a little milk; in twelve days they returned, and were received with great joy by the women. I also went with a bold assurance to welcome them home. Deaan Trongha rallied me a little, but his wife saying she hindered me from following him, I had no more said to me.

The account they gave of their expedition was, that a general of Rer Trimmonongarevo was at the place; but the messenger's fear augmented his army to near double the number it really was, there not being above five thousand. Our people were so speedy, that they secured a narrow pass, which the enemy designed to have taken; and after a little skirmishing and bush-fighting at a distance, Rer Mynbolambo retired to a plain and encamped; to whom Deaan Mundrosser sent a messenger, desiring to know for what reason he (more especially) marched an army into a country to destroy it; whose late king, Rer Vovvern, had relieved, and protected him when he fled from his uncle, Rer Trimmonongarevo * at his father's death. For Rer Mynbolambo's father was king of Morandavo, and this son should have succeeded; and there was a dispute between his uncle and he several years, till Rer Vovvern at last mediated a reconciliation between them. Rer Mynbolambo answered in few words, "Those matters were made up, his uncle was king, and he was under his command, and could not help it." We understood afterwards that Deaan Woozington had appointed to meet him, and had failed; he nevertheless was

* Ra-Tsimonongo-Arivo, according to M. Noel.

loth to return home without doing somewhat, and therefore attempted to make an incursion, and carry off a booty of slaves and cattle, but was prevented this time. Our army followed them at a distauce to see them safe in their own country, and then returned home themselves. But that part of the news which pleased me most was, that Deaan Mernaugha and they had agreed to defer for this season their intended expedition with Deaan Crindo against Merfaughla; for I had always a dread upon me of going into Anterndroea, as well for fear a ship should come during the time I should be absent, which would be six or seven months, as also for seeing my old master, Deaan Mevarrow. But these fears being dissipated for the present, I assisted heartily in fortifying the town, which was done with stones; they were here in great plenty. None were exempted from work; the women and children, according to their strength, fetched stones; and we made a wall round the town, at least a yard thick, and three yards high, with loop-holes to look through or fire out at an enemy. We had no mortar, the stones were only laid one on another; we were about two months before we finished it.

After this was done, some of our principal men got leave to go into the country to get honey and hunt wild cattle, there being some on this side the river Oneghaloyhe. We looked on ourselves safe at this time of the year, between November and April, the river being swelled very large, and no canoes, except here and there one; but it was impassable for an army. I obtained my master's permission to accompany them. We were half a day walking very briskly before we came to a place proper to bait at, and where we could find ove (that is, wild yams) or susers; which here we found in plenty. But we had a hard day's journey further to go to the place designed for our country habitation, and when we came there we had our house to build. The first night we took care for a good supper; two, who well knew the place, went to look out for honey among the rocks, in the holes of which the bees make their combs; the other of us (for there were four in all) dug ove and susers. Our companions brought some honey, and we made a delicious supper. The next morning we built our house, finishing it in half a day; it was thatched with palmetto

leaves. The next day we employed ourselves in getting a pleasant liquor called Araffer,* which I had never seen before. The tree from whence it comes grows like a cocoa-nut tree, but not so large; rather a kind of palmetto, called in their language satter. The long leaves or branches we burn off, leaving the trunk bare; then we cut off a little of the top of the tree, and with our lances or hatchets make a hole in the middle, which in a little time fills with a liquid, issuing as from a spring. This may be drawn or sucked out with a reed, as long as it will run, and it will fill again the same day, continuing six or seven days before the tree is dry. It is not thick like a syrup, yet very sweet and pleasant; and I never knew it gave any one the flux, as some may expect; nor did any inconvenience attend the drinking it. But we wanted roast meat; so roving about the next day we espied a herd of about twenty of Hattoy's cattle, and with some difficulty killed a bull; and now we lived luxuriously. We made drinking cups of the bull's horns, thrusting them into the fire, then giving them a knock or two to get out the pith; and we were as well contented as some with fine glasses. It is indeed surprising, though delightful, to see how plentifully Providence has furnished this country with everything not only necessary for the subsistence of mankind, but even a delicious variety. If ever any country flowed with milk and honey it is this; and with so much ease are they to be had, that as the natives have no knowledge of the curse on Adam and his posterity, so one would be tempted to think, as well for this reason as from their colour, that they are not of his race, or that the curse never reached them; for

* The road is through a pleasant piece of country, well stocked with guinea-fowl, and in many parts thickly overgrown with the *sátrana*. This is a kind of palm bearing a hard brown nut, called by the natives *vóantsátrana*, from which the Sakalava here make *tóaka* (spirits). The nuts are first bruised, then placed in earthen pots let into the ground. When filled with these nuts water is poured in, then the pots are covered with pounded husks of the aforesaid nuts, and the whole left for eight days; after which the liquor is distilled in the usual simple native fashion. . . . I shall not soon forget what one of them told me there. He said—"It was you, *Vazaha*, who taught us We never knew how to make it until you came. You have been our teachers" (*Antananarivo Annual*, vol. i. p. 26).

they can get their living without the sweat of their brows, or at least without that which we commonly understand by it; which is hard labour. Yet see how the follies and passions of men lead them into misery, though they have happiness in their power. In this fine country their quarrelling with one another and frequent wars do often reduce them to the greatest necessity, in the midst of the greatest plenty almost at their doors; but they are confined sometimes by too powerful an enemy, that they durst not go out of their houses to fetch what the land produces naturally; and this was the then hard fate of Feraingher, and the substance of our conversation after supper, my companions entertaining me with the great power and strength of their country but a little before, in the days of Rer Vovvern; and how miserably they were forced to confine themselves now, getting close together, that they may be ready at a call to repulse an enemy, and by that means leave the finest and most plentiful part of their country uninhabited.

But we lived now very happy and plentifully during our stay at our country house. We made an oven, such an one as I have before described, and baked our beef; then we searched about for honey to carry home, in which I, knowing more of the nature of bees than they, had better fortune, and got as much as I could carry away. When our beef grew so tainted we could not eat it, we looked out for more; it was my fortune to overtake by myself a young heifer, and driving her into a thicket killed her, and halloaed to my companions. This we agreed to dress, and carry as much home as we could. We baked the marrow-bones, broiled the liver, and spread the marrow on it as a dainty morsel. And then we made up our enters, and went home as well contented as heavy laden; but we were not in haste, and therefore travelled softly.

We made it almost midnight when we entered the town, on purpose that we might not be observed; and now again I wished for my wife to have been at home to receive me. The next morning I carried a horn of honey and a piece of beef to the chief lady, who was highly pleased, and thought I had brought too much. I went next to the other, where Deaan Trongha was, and made her a present. He was very glad to see me, and made a handsome breakfast, delighting to hear

me tell of our sport. The others by this time came, according to custom, to present their lord with something of what they had got by way of compliment. As I went home a man met me who wanted to buy some honey, it being blazed about that I brought home a great deal. He gave me a fine silk lamber for a calabash of honey of about two gallons. I thought myself very fine in it, and I am sure I was the first of the family that was ever dressed so like a Madagascar lord. Deaan Trongha told me I had bought it very cheap, but that honey was scarce, or it was worth four times as much; though silk is very plentiful in this country, if they would take the pains to gather it.

Here I ignorantly committed a great error, for as Deaan Trongha was saying the man bought the honey dear. I very smartly answered, "If this war continues three or four years, a man will be glad to sell a child for such a calabash of honey." The prince took me up roundly and said, "Then I suppose you will leave us and go to some island prince for a bellyful of victuals." I assured him, "that at the utmost hazard of my life, I would stay with him till he should send me home in a ship." I found him still dissatisfied, though he said no more, and could not find out the reason till after we returned from the plantation, and were walking homewards alone, says he, "Robin you are not aware that our people think you can conjure, because you know the terrato's,* that is, writing and reading; and by that means you can foretell things to come. Now when you talked of worse times in our country than we have at present, before these ignorant people, they think it will certainly be so, and you will so discourage them, that they will all run away. For they would have as superstitious a regard to you as to an Umossee, if you had a mind to it." I answered, "That I found I was in an error, but could never think they could imagine I was a conjurer, or knew things before they happened; for if I had, I would never

* "They (the *Ombyasses*, or Priests) have great glittering Crystals but foul and cloudy which they say are *Terachs*, that is, having others within; when they make (Geomantick) Figures, they have one of these stones in the corner of their Tables, saying that it hath power to bring activity into their fingers" (*Ogilby*, after *Flacourt*).

have come the unfortunate voyage, in which I was cast ashore here." "This is true," says he, "but these people are too ignorant to be taught; and 'tis not in your power nor mine to convince them; to endeavour at it is to give them an ill opinion of us; they must be indulged in their bigotry, humoured, and talked to like froward, weakly children." I told him, "Since the case was so, I would be very careful for the future what I said to discourage them, and begged his pardon."

In three or four days our fine provision was gone, for I distributed, as is usual, among our neighbours, and then we had little else but tamarinds and ashes. About three weeks after, Eglasse and his man Toby came to see me, bringing beef and potatoes with them, for they knew our poverty. We had an odd sort of conversation between Eglasse's broken Madagascar language and my broken English, but Toby helped us out, for he spoke both languages. He stayed with me a night, and the next day he went to Deaan Trongha, and begged leave for me to go and live with him five or six weeks, which was readily granted; so I shut up my house, and in five or six hours we arrived at Eglasse's, where Efflep and his two sons James and John came to welcome me.

I used to walk about to the neighbouring towns with Eglasse, and met with several of the natives, who could speak a great deal of English; but here was one of them who, when a boy, and the English pirates frequented this place, used to go errands and transact business for them, by which means he spoke English as well as his native tongue. He was very rich, having three wives, many slaves and cattle, also wearing clothes which belonged to men who died there; for when any were sent ashore sick he used to look after them, and if they died he had their clothes, and what they left. His name was William Purser—the natives call him William Poser; he always treated me plentifully when I went to see him, but never offered me any clothes, nor indeed did I desire any, for in that place I should have behaved myself very awkwardly in an English dress, and I had now a fine lamber to wear after their manner, with which I was contented.

When I had been here about a month, old Efflep died, and his son James made a great burying for him after the manner

of the country, which is the same as in Anterndroèa: he killed four or five beeves, to entertain the people who came to the funeral. Here is none of that foolish custom of the princes and lords killing the beasts; a prince will eat if a slave kills it: they also eat swine's flesh.

I lived very well between Eglasse's and James's, till within three or four days before the time was expired that I was to go home, when I was seized with a violent fever, which turned to an ague, and reduced me to such weakness as rendered me unable to stir out of the house. They sent a messenger to inform Deaan Trongha of it, and took as much care of me as possible; James would sometimes boil a fowl to make broth for me. I was once supposed to be dead, and Eglasse being abroad had left Toby with me, who called in the neighbours, and it was concluded that I was gone; insomuch that the people went home, and James was consulting how to bury me; but as Eglasse sat by me, he, two or three hours after, perceiving me breathe, James burning something under my nose, I revived, but was not sensible for two days, nor able to sit up for many more. Deaan Trongha hearing I was dead sent to see; the messenger found me alive, but not able to speak to him. After this I recovered by degrees; the ague lasted three months, and I was two more before I attained to strength enough to go home; insomuch that I longed to see Deaan Trongha; but Eglasse was willing to keep me as long as he could, for now I began to talk English pretty well, and was good company for him as long as he was permitted to live, which was but a little while after my recovery.

There came five men with a cow to sell to Eglasse, asking me for him, and he being in the plantation I went and told him. He came along with me to the men, and desired me to agree with them. They asked six pieces of eight, and stood hard for four; but I would give them no more than three. They said if Eglasse would give them the old lance in his hand they would take the money. This alarmed me, for I had observed them whisper two or three times to one another, and having heard that Eglasse used to threaten the king, Deaan Mernaugha, I began to be in great fear, and told him in English they wanted the lance, and that I did not like their

behaviour, for the lance was not worth a meal of potatoes, being one of his slaves; but he in a bravado gave the man the lance. "Here," says he, "I won't disagree; take the lance." He had no sooner delivered it, than a man came behind him, and with both his hands pushed the lance in at his back so forcibly that it came out of his breast. I turned about at the shriek which Eglasse made, and seeing the man pulling the lance out of his body, I ran away into the wild canes which grew by a river-side, and the rustling I made among the canes appeared to me like the noise of pursuers, so that I ran about a good while before I could recover my senses enough to consider and stop; and when I did I still continued myself to listen. After some time I heard a voice calling me which proved to be James and his brother John. I was almost afraid to trust them, but seeing no other company I came out crying to them. They told me Deaan Mernaugha had ordered this for Eglasse's threatening him, and that I, being an Englishman, and belonging to Deaan Trongha, need not fear anything: "for," said they, "they could have killed you before you fled if they had been ordered to do it." This I thought was true; then I replied, "He may take a fancy in his head that I shall tell the captains of ships when they come that he kills white men, and under pretence of danger he may think it necessary to kill me too." But they assured me, as I was an Englishman he durst not do it, and that the executioners had told him so.

I went home with them and saw the corpse lay where it fell, with four wounds and naked; they also seized on his goods, cattle, and on his two slaves, Robin and Toby, staying in the town all night. The next morning they came to me, desiring I would go with them to the king. I said, "I would if I was not afraid, were it only to beg the body to bury it." They answered, "The king was so far from thinking of doing me any hurt, that he would be glad to see me, and they were sure would grant my request, and perhaps give me some of Eglasse's goods. So, James accompanying me, I went; we called William Purser, and took him along with us. When I entered the town my heart failed me, but I considered there was no going back. Deaan Mernaugha was sitting at his own

door, and a great many people about him. I went towards him, and throwing myself on the ground, licked his feet according to the custom of the country, which the people wondered, having never seen a white man do so. He permitted me at first, but soon bid me rise, and not be afraid, he would not hurt a hair of my head.

He then ordered Eglasse's cattle to be brought before him, and commanded them to take a white cow (not a bullock), and tie it to a tree. After that the Owley was brought out, and an altar made, as hath been already described, by placing the Owley on a beam laid across two forked sticks, about six feet high; then the cow was killed, and the king arose, and taking a green bough dipped it in the blood and sprinkled the Owley. Next, he took some of the fat, and some of the sweet-scented gum, and burnt them under it, making the smoke ascend to the Owley. Then he took two cutlasses, and whetting them one against another (as a butcher does a knife and steel, but not so quick), he begun his prayer to God, and the lords of the four quarters of the world, to his forefathers by their names, ending with his grandfather who made the oath with the English captain, which Deaan Trongha told me of; his name after his death was Munguzungarevo. The form and manner of his prayer was to this purpose:—

"Bless me, O Deaan Unghorray, thou supreme god. Bless me, O you Deaan Meguddummateem. Bless me, O you Deaan Antyfertraer. Bless me, O you Deaan Aneebeleeshy. Bless me, O you Deaan Antymoor. Bless me, O [many names of his forefathers], but more especially, O you Deaan Munguzungarevo, and bless my family and this kingdom; for I have had regard to your oath, and the man whom I have slain is not an Englishman, but of another country; neither would I have put him to death were it not to preserve my own life, which he often threatened to take away when ships should arrive."

While he was praying his slaves were cutting up the beef; when he had done he ordered me to take the whole breast, and the rest to be divided and shared among the people. He told me I had none of that barbarous disposition which some white men have; for he looked on me as a native black man,

I having accustomed myself to the manners of their country. I had no great mind to take his beef; but remembering Eglasse brought about his own destruction by his imprudent behaviour, I thought it was safest to appear pleased. Robin, the slave, was given to the executioner, but James bought Toby of the king. I begged leave to bury the body, which was granted, and we returned back to James's house. The next morning came two messengers from Deaan Trongha, to inquire into the truth of this story, it having been reported that I was killed; in which case they were ordered to go directly to Deaan Mernaugha and demand satisfaction of him, he being resolved to revenge it; but it proved otherwise, and they having nothing to do in Eglasse's case, I went home with them.

When I arrived I was received with as much joy as if I had been some man of great consequence to them. I went to the chief lady's house, where the other came on purpose to see me, though she had not been there in half a year before. Deaan Trongha was pleased too, and made me relate my severe sickness, and the frightful tragedy of Eglasse's death, saying, I had so many escapes, that he did not think it would be my fate to die in their country, but that I might see England again (repeating his promise to send me thither). He ordered my house to be repaired, the thatch being eaten by the cattle. Provisions were given me, and appointed for time to come; for he had lately a good harvest, so that we lived much better than before.

I asked leave one day to pay a visit to Rer Bafaugher; for in a time of so much danger from enemies, none went out of town without leave. As I was passing by a river, and walking down with an intention to drink, I espied the track of an alligator, which deterred me, and there being two or three houses not far off, I was going toward them to beg water, and met a young woman with a calabash going to dip some. She desired me to stay, and she would let me drink out of her calabash; but going a little way into the water and crouching with her knees to fill her vessel, an alligator gave a spring, and caught fast hold of both her thighs, and dragged her into the stream, driving down with it; but she keeping her head

and hands above water, I threw one lance away, ran towards her with the other, which she took hold of, and I pulled her to me. The alligator still keeping fast hold, we calling out all this while for help; but taking her by the hand, she directing me where the creature lay, I struck him with my lance and wounded him, but he did not let go till a second stroke. By this time help came, and we brought her out safe with only two large wounds made with his long jaws and sharp teeth. She was now naked, having lost her lamber in the scuffle, but that was not worth minding; we saved her life, and everybody was highly pleased with that. Rer Bafaugher entertained me generously, and having gratified his curiosity in hearing my late dangerous adventures I returned home.

The next day Deaan Trongha told me he had news for me; I flattered myself it was of a ship's arrival; but in the end Deaan Mernaugha had sent to desire him and his people would prepare to go and join Deaan Crindo, as had been before projected. The dislike I showed at this made the Deaan reproach me with cowardice till I told him I ran the risk of losing life or limb to obtain no good; for I had no family to receive benefit of my fighting, and might be out of the way when a ship should arrive to carry me home, besides the danger I was in from Deaan Mevarrow, who was known to be a man of ungovernable passions and ill principles. Deaan Trongha was so good as to admit of these reasons, and gave me his word he would not take me with him, seeing I was unwilling to go; but a cunning Umossee drew me into it by a conjuring stratagem notwithstanding his sincere intention of keeping his promise.

The people were ordered to get ready in three days to march, and the Umossee was set to work to prophesy of the success of the war. He took some sand, tossing it about and making scrawls with it on a board. At length he bid them go and look for an upright tree which leaned no way. Then a black and bald-faced cow was sought out, which being brought to the tree and killed, the Umossee took some of the blood with his hand, smeared the tree, and invoked the demons, and also the spirits of Deaan Trongha's forefathers,

calling on them to arise and hear what he was about to tell them, which was, "That their grandson, Deaan Trongha, was going to war against their and his old enemy, the king of Merfaughla." He next set two men of equal strength to cut the tree with hatchets, one to the northward, and the other to the southward, to give stroke for stroke with each other, saying, "If the tree fell to the northward, bad success would attend the undertaking." Those of the vulgar who were present stood stupidly gaping to swallow every divine word that came out of this wonder-working prophet's mouth. I don't know how the mistake came, but the tree fell to the northward, though it was certainly designed to fall the other way; for when Deaan Trongha perceived it he only smiled: "Let us cut up the beef," says he, "and be merry, that's the best part of the ceremony. We forgot to observe that what little wind there is, is to the southward: we should have chosen a fitter time." But he strictly enjoined all present to say nothing at home to the women; so we told them when we returned that the tree fell to the southward, that they should tell their husbands so.

This conduct of Deaan Trongha's confirmed me in a suspicion I had entertained for some time, that some of these lords, who are men of sense, keep one of the Umossees out of policy only to amuse the common people, who here, as well as in other places, must be humoured in their bigotry, and captivated by such artifices which politic governors know very well, though they regard very little themselves what the conjurers say of their talking, and having familiarity with the demi-gods and spirits.

Now here was a seeming ill-omen, and too many vulgar-minded men had seen it to be trusted with the secret. An expedient must therefore be found to avert it. The demons must be consulted, and addressed to again to procure their protection; so away goes the Umossee invoking again, and conjuring till he conjured me into the wars. A bird called Tuluho,* almost like a pheasant but smaller, must be caught

* "There are species of small pheasants, which have violet feathers and red beak, which are good to eat" (*Flacourt*). See note next page

dead or alive, though very scarce to be found. Then a sea-crab and several other things: these he blended together, muttering incantations all the while. He bound them up in a clout, and fixed it on the top of a stick about the length and bigness of a walking-cane. This was a charm which was to work terrible mischief on the enemy. He gave it a name, calling it the elodge; it was to be carried before the army; but who should be a proper person to do this was still a question, and the demons were to be consulted again on this important part of the affair, who were pleased to reveal to him, or which is all one (to stupid bigots who will never doubt the truth of whatever he shall say), "that the demi-gods and spirits revealed to him, that nobody was fit to carry this but one who had neither man, woman, nor child living, related to him on this island." Now from the observations I had before made, I used often to take the liberty to deride these Umossees and their conjurations; and after I have said this, I dare say, I need not many words to show from whence his pretended revelation came, though he took the liberty to father it on the demons or demi-gods, or whatever English name we must call them; for I must do the man the justice to say he had not the wickedness to bring Deaan Unghorray, or the supreme god, into any of this conjuring drollery.

After he had declared this before them (I was not present then), says Deaan Trongha, "Where can we find a man without some relations?" "I don't know," says he, "this is the mind of the demons, and they would not direct it if no such man was to be found; you must recollect yourself. Now I think on it," says he, "there's your white man Robin, I dare say he is the man." "Yes," says Deaan Trongha, "he may be such a man, but it is not proper for him to go; besides, I have given him my word he shall not go against his will." "Why then," says the Umossee, "you must think of somebody else if you can." And away he went, for he had done his business, leaving the Deaan in no small concern, who was a man of nice honour, and a strict observer of his

"*Talena* is a river bird, very beautiful to look at, which is as large as a fowl. It has violet feathers, the head, breast, and feet are red" (*Flacourt*, 1661).

word; but he sent for me, and told me, "It lay in my power to do a piece of service of great importance to the whole country, and more especially to himself, that I should be well rewarded for it, but he desired I would promise first." I answered, "If it is not to kill a man, I would be glad of an opportunity to do him any service." He then told me the whole story, and that there was no help for it, or he would not have asked it of me. I paused a little, but soon recollected myself, and said "All I feared was what I had already told him; but since there was a necessity I readily submitted." He said, "He would protect me, and take as much care of my life and health as of his own," and immediately ordered a slave to attend me, and everything to be got ready for me. I was to carry this charm called the elodge in my left hand, three or four stones' cast before the army, all the while they marched, and at night pitch it at the same distance from the camp pointing towards the enemy's country, then wash myself and go among the people where I pleased. This was to be done till we should fight with Woozington's army; I was to have ten beeves and two slaves for my trouble. The common people look on this to have a poisonous effect, and that's the reason I was to wash before I came near any of them; but Deaan Trongha told me, "He knew I did not think it hurtful." "No, sir," said I, "I know there is no harm nor good in it, and they shall see me lick it before their faces, which none of them would do for an hundred oxen. I can never think," says I, "that you depend as much on it as you tell them, but you see the ill consequence of using these conjurers; for the vulgar are so persuaded of their power over them by these charms, that if your own life was in danger you must do what he says his demi-gods direct, if it was to carry this yourself." "This is very true," say he, "and if I was to refuse to let you carry it they would refuse to march; or if they did, would charge me with every miscarriage or misfortune." "Yes, sir," said I, "but there is still a greater danger, for if this Umossee had courage and cunning enough, you have put it in his power to be greater than yourself. It is but his saying his demons or spirits have ordered anything to be done

even against yourself, they durst not disobey, for he has them all at command if he did but know it."

In two or three days after we marched out of town I had a slave to carry my mat and provision, like a great man, everything being plentifully provided for me. Now came the Umossee, and put the elodge in my left hand, and I marched before them. We joined Rer Bafaugher the next day, and two days after Rer Mundrosser; James, the son of Efflep, was in the army, and his man Toby, so that we had good company every evening, after I had fixed my elodge and washed. We passed the great river Oneghaloyhe, wading through a shallow place a great way above where I had passed it before. Our people stocked themselves with beef here, for we halted at noon sometimes on purpose, to give them time to hunt Hattoy's cattle.

When I came to the river where I saw the alligators, and passed with my fire-brand, I would not venture to go over by myself at first; the Umossee came up to me, saying, "I need not fear, for no harm could happen to me while I carried the elodge, the demons would protect me." I laughed at him in derision, and said, "I was sure he knew better than to imagine I gave any credit to him, neither have you any such notion of its power; and if you have, let me see you carry it over here, or go along with or before me." But he had more wit. However, I forced him to fetch two guns, that I might fire them into the water to scare away the alligators, and then I went on. We saw several people belonging to two petty princes not far off, who were hunting. Our people had some conversation with them, for they were not enemies. We passed through the mountainous wilderness, but lay no more than two nights in it; for they knew a much better way than I did when I came by myself. The day I saw Vohitch futey I returned very melancholy into the camp; insomuch that Deaan Trongha took notice, and asked what was the matter. I told him, "We were now coming into Anterndroea, which had been a scene of misery to me, and I had a dread of Deaan Mevarrow." But he cheered me up, and said, "They durst not venture to wrong me, and he was sure they would not, as well out of fear as out of respect to him."

The next day we arrived at Madamvovo, the river where I used to water my cattle in Deaan Murnanzack's country. This was appointed to be the general rendezvous, and here came Deaan Murnanzack with his brethren and their forces. Deaan Afferrer soon espied me; when I went to lick his feet he lifted me up, and made me sit by him, asking Deaan Trongha how I came to him. I was desired to tell my own story, which I did to his satisfaction. He said, "I had taken a great deal of pains for liberty, but it was no more than he would have done himself if under such circumstances, and wished me good success.

The next day came Deaan Crindo and his sons, and with them Deaan Mevarrow and his brother. I was sorry to find he was recovered of the yaws, but I ventured to go to see him, choosing a time when I found he and his brother were together; and after the usual ceremony of licking their feet, and their saying they were glad to see me, they asked me why I left them. I pretended when the army parted I would return again if he would give me my wife. They told me she would not be married to any other man, but continued constantly lamenting for me. This brought unfeigned tears from me, and made them the easier to be deceived by my flatteries. I would not have attempted this piece of deceit had I not been in fear he would have privately murdered me when he found I contemned or hated him. At night I acquainted Deaan Trongha with what I had done, for fear he should have suspected I was carrying on some sinister secret design in visiting Mevarrow. I met here with my former trusty friend, who had all this while kept my secret. He also told me that my wife remained inconsolable, and repented every day to him that she did not go with me.

After two or three days the army, which now consisted of about four thousand, marched, and I went before them with the elodge. The next day we entered the country of Merfaughla, and here the army divided into three parts, as in the former expedition, marching with more circumspection than before; for we were in an enemy's country, I still in the front. As we were passing between the two woods, on a sudden a volley of shot was fired at me; I saw the enemy run away as soon as

they fired. They were a small party skulking about on purpose to look for such opportunities. The shot whistled about my ears, and some small boughs flying off from the trees and striking me, I could not tell at first whether I was not wounded. However, I stopped, and was resolved to proceed no further. Deaan Tredaughe being the nearest commander, called to me to go on; which I peremptorily refused, except they would send a party to march before. The Umossee, too, came, and talked in his conjuring dialect to the same purpose, and with the same success as at the river. At length came Deaan Crindo, and commanded me to go on, saying he would force me. I was enraged beyond decency at the haughtiness of him whom I had so much reason to hate, and told him, "He was a proud prince, and that I thanked God I was out of his power." He said, "It was true, or he would have prevented my going any further." Deaan Trongha was now come forward to see what was the matter; to whom Deaan Crindo complained of my obstinacy and sauciness. He answered, "It was barbarous and unreasonable to desire I should be exposed to be murdered at that silly rate; and as to his sauciness," says Deaan Trongha, "you forget he is a white man, and as good as the best of us." In the end Deaan Crindo was obliged to order an hundred young men to go before me, and it was but in good time; for there were several such firings at us this afternoon from small ambuscades.

In two days more we arrived at the river, where we had encamped, fought, and defeated Deaan Woozington before, and killed his stout General, Ry-Opheck. Here we encamped again, and no enemy appearing, most were for plundering the country, but Deaan Trongha persuaded them against it, and advised marching still on to find out the enemy if possible before they divided their force into small parties. I did not care how soon we came to a battle that I might get rid of the elodge.

At length, after four days' march, a body of the enemy of about a thousand showed themselves on a plain in our sight; and Deaan Trongha drew out his countrymen to fight them. The Umossee came to me, ordering me to march before my master with the elodge, and as soon as the fight began to throw

it towards the enemy. We marched on, and they advanced to meet us, though very slowly, for they had a secret design. Deaan Trongha (as they wanted) drew near, they still firing, though at a great distance, yet it was fight enough for my purpose of throwing away the elodge. I briskly and joyfully did it and returned to the camp; for I had no gun nor lance to fight, and was heartily glad to be eased of this troublesome charge. The enemy retreated into a wood, and our people eagerly firing at them, till the general, whose eagle's eyes were looking everywhere about him, notwithstanding the heat of the action, espied a long row of firearms on a rising bank of earth among the trees and bushes. He called out to his people to stop, discovering a great number of men hid in a ditch cast up on purpose, so he marched back without losing a man. For there was no fighting in an unknown wood, and with unknown numbers of enemies.

Deaan Woozington was certainly one of the most cunning men on the island, for though he had not force enough to look an army of four thousand men in the face, and his country was ruined, yet he found means to revenge himself in a severe manner. Nor did my gallant master, Deaan Trongha, escape him, notwithstanding his great conduct and bravery. Our beef being all spent, and no enemy to be found who would fight, parties went out to search for cattle and slaves, returning with very good success, though the principal generals remained in the camp [Deaan Crindo, Deaan Murnanzack, and Deaan Trongha]. But some scouts coming in and saying they had discovered where a large herd of cattle were, Deaan Trongha would go out himself to bring them in. Deaan Crindo advised him against it, but to no purpose. So about an hundred of the Anterndroeans and as many of his own people went with us; for I designed to go, but (I knew not what Providence designed by it) I was taken with a violent pain in my thigh. Nevertheless I went out with them, not caring to stay behind him; but my pain increasing, the Deaan would not suffer me to proceed, and I was forced to hop back, for I could scarce walk, and never saw this great good prince more. For in three days after came three men bringing the melancholy news that Deaan Trongha was killed.

About sunrise a man came to the general, saying, "There appeared a party of about fifty of the enemy in the plain, on which he marched his little army out of the wood where he lay toward them, and soon saw them increase in number, but he was resolved to attack them. Here he committed an error, forgetting that the Anterndroeans are good for little else but bush-fighting. When they came nearer another party appeared, and soon after a third. However, there was no going back. Some of the Anterndroeans, indeed, ran away, and others skulked down in the high grass, so that there were not above threescore men of his own Feraingher people stood with him against some hundreds. They maintained the fight half the morning. The general received two wounds without falling; at length a third killed him. There were not by this time above twenty of his party left, and they resolutely forced their way through the enemy, of which number were the three who gave us this account of it. The Anterndroea men, who lay hid in the grass, were most of them killed, for the grass being exceeding long, and very dry (at this time of the year in this hot country), the enemy set fire to it, and it ran along like a wild fire, scorching the men who lay hid under it, so that they were forced to rise, and were most of them overtaken and slain.

The death of this great man was a sensible loss to the whole army, and sincerely lamented by everybody. It was a mortifying stroke to me, and I remained inconsolable, not knowing what evil might attend me in this country. Rer Bafaugher did not return till ten days after, when he brought a good prize of cattle and slaves; but his joy was all damped at once with the news of his brother's death; which so shocked and surprised him, that he was not enough composed to talk of any affairs of the army till the next day. I had carried on the deceit with Mevarrow of pretending that I would come privately to him when the army broke up, but was very uneasy till I got an opportunity to communicate my whole project to Rer Bafaugher, and beg his protection, which he readily promised. And it was agreed that I should absent myself two or three days before they separated, in order to make Deaan Mevarrow think I ran away from the Feraingher people, and went to his town before him; when, indeed, I and my man only went to

a place appointed, walking by night to prevent discovery, and stayed till Rer Bafaugher and the rest arrived.

The several parties who were sent out to plunder, returned, and the cattle being divided, which were several thousands, besides slaves, the army decamped. The Feraingher people did not accompany the Anterndroeans home as before, but took their leave here, and departed, going a much nearer way, directly homeward. I went away with my servant, as was secretly agreed on with Rer Bafaugher, and met them according to appointment, to the great surprise of the people; for there had been a strict search and inquiry made after me, every one thinking I was lost. Rer Bafaugher made so great a clamour with Deaan Mevarrow and some others, that Deaan Crindo gave him two slaves to appease him, fearing a quarrel of dangerous consequence would have ensued. One of the slaves, a young man, Rer Bafaugher made me a present of. I was surprised, not knowing what he meant by it, till relating the whole story, and saying that both were by right mine. I was satisfied, calling my slave's name Sambo. We were near a month before we passed over the river Oneghaloyhe, spending our time voluptuously in hunting, eating, and drinking, making very short marches. We did this chiefly to feed our captives, for their country was so ruined by us that for many months they had very little to live on; so that the poor wretches looked very thin.

When we came within one or two days' journey of Rer Bafaugher's, the cattle were shared, and those who had two or more slaves, presented one to their lord, according to the same law and custom which I have already related is used in Anterndroea; and now I thought it a proper time to mention to Rer Bafaugher what I was promised as a reward for carrying the elodge, and told him the fatigue and hazard I underwent did well deserve it. He said, "There would have been no objection against it if Deaan Trongha had lived: however, he would go to Deaan Mundrosser and see what could be done." Soon returning with five cows, and a little after a girl slave was sent me; but I having already a man, which was enough for my use, I desired to have two cows in the room of the girl, which they readily agreed to. I committed my cattle to my man Sambo's

care, and the man who attended me when I went out was their guard; for he would not leave me till we got home.

When we came to Rer Bafaugher's town, I left my slave and cattle, and went to Deaan Trongha's town to see his widows. I found a melancholy scene. The eldest lady would have had me live with her. I told her "I could not think myself safe but under the protection of some great man as Rer Bafaugher was; but I should have opportunities of coming often to see her, and would for ever show the value I had for the memory of my dear lord, and also my gratitude for all her former favours."

When I returned, I met my man Sambo, who told me he was going to build a house, when Rer Bafaugher sent and provided one for me, giving him also the necessary furniture for it. When I went to pay my respects to Rer Bafaugher I heard of Deaan Crindo's fate, which was thus related by some who came from his country after us.

Deaan Woozington, with what forces he could collect together, kept always within a day's march of us, having spies perpetually out every way to observe all our motions, and who interchangeably going and returning to and from his little army with an account of what they observed, so that he knew when we parted from the Anterndroea people. But they were still too strong for him, so that he was obliged to wait a little longer for his revenge, and accordingly followed them at a distance till they came to Madamvovo, where Deaan Murnanzack and his brethren, Afferrer and Mussecoro, separated from them to go home, and this was the time he waited for; so attending but one day more, till they were too far asunder to assist one another, he attacked Deaan Crindo in the night, and killed him with a great many of his people, and routed the rest, Deaan Mevarrow narrowly escaping; and this he did so suddenly and effectually, that he had time to retire into Merfaughla, with most of the cattle they had taken from him.

Deaan Mundumbo, after his father's death, attempted to assume the supreme command as king, but had not magnanimity enough to maintain his pretension, nor love enough of the people to stand in any degree in competition with Deaan Murnanzack. He wanted those few good qualities which his

father had, for it must be allowed that Crindo had vigour in war, and the spirit of authority at home, which alone supported his dignity and made him useful to his country. Murnanzack had his uncle's fire in war, and majesty at home, with the addition of all the human and social virtues, and was, indeed, a truly great man, so that Mundumbo was forced to fly into Antenosa for the present till matters were settled, and what became of either of them after I never knew, for I was not long after this moved into another country still farther from Anterndroea.

Rer Bafaugher treated me as handsomely as his brother had done. He had but one wife, with whom he had lived nine years, and was so unfortunate as to have no child. She was a most agreeable and good-natured woman, and behaved herself so well that he loved her, and preferred her to all the women in the world. She was also generally respected, and extremely kind to me. Three of my cows gave milk, and they furnishing me with carravances and Guinea corn, I and my man Sambo lived very well. This continued all the rain-time, and we planted and sowed, but never stayed to reap. For news was brought by some people who lived a great way off, that Deaan Woozington was marching towards us with a great army. Spies were sent out to observe them, who returned, and said, "They guessed they might be near three thousand, and were within three days' march." So soon as the king, Deaan Mernaugha, heard it, we were ordered to send all our cattle, wives, and slaves to the river Feraingher, which runs by Deaan Mernaugha's town. I was so careful of my little stock that I accompanied them to the river, and went myself to James's house (the son of Efflep), where I found Hempshire, his wife, and daughter. Two days after, hearing that Woozington had passed Oneghaloyhe, we were ordered farther to the northward to Murnumbo, * where we had not been three days, but we were alarmed with worse news, of an army of Saccalauvors being just ready to attack us. From these we were forced to retreat immediately, and hearing that Woozington had not penetrated so far as the river Feraingher, we attempted to go back again there, but the Saccalauvor army was so close at our

* *Manombo*, in Fiherenana.

heels that we were forced to fly for our lives, and leave our cattle to them, hastening as fast as we could to the river. Some of our people who had arms made a running fight to save the women and children. We reached to the river, but they were in sight of us by this time. Hempshire's wife ran away from him; I, out of compassion, took him by the hand, and made him run with me into the very same cane-thicket where I fled at the death of Eglasse. We were not long sat down there before we heard some women and children cry out, who were taken but a little way from us in the same thicket, which put us into the utmost fear; for we could expect nothing but immediate death. We had not sat trembling long under these frightful apprehensions before I espied them. We got up to run I know not where, but one of them fired and shot Hempshire in the back, on which he fell dead. I was too nimble for my pursuer, and was got out of his reach, but just at the entrance of the thicket I met another man running directly at me. He took a lance to throw, but I called out to him, begged my life, and said, "I would go with him." He seeing me without any weapons (for I had neither lance nor gun) bid me come forward, so I went and licked his feet, submitting myself to be his slave; he told me "he saved my life because I was a white man and unarmed."

He took me with him into the body of the army, and it was soon spread about that a white man was taken prisoner, insomuch that the general heard of it, and sent for my conqueror and me. When I came before him I kneeled and licked his feet. He asked if anybody could speak English or Dutch, and was surprised I spoke in his own language to him. He asked me several questions relating to the strength of Deaan Mernaugha, and the number of his people, and other things of that nature, which I as cunningly avoided answering as was possible for Rer Bafaugher's sake; but in the end of the conversation he gave the man, whose prisoner I was, another slave, and took me himself; at which I was a little better pleased than with him. For it was wretched indeed to be a slave's slave. My new master bid me follow him, which I did, while they marched, which was not long, for they encamped soon after on the banks of the river. This was the finest camp I had seen,

for it was full of good tents.* When the general's tent was erected, he desired me to sit down and tell him how I came upon the island, and how it came to pass that I, being a white man, spoke their language. I gratified him by relating my whole history, which he listened to very attentively, and we had a great deal of talk about my surprising adventures. After he had seen me sup (I did not eat with him), he gave one of his principal men charge of me, to see I wanted for nothing, but never bid him guard me; and when one of his people advised him to it, he said, "There was no fear of my going away, for white men have no home on this island; all places are alike to them, and they will stay with them longest who treat them best, and feed them well, which could not be done, he was sure, by the people of Ferainghèr at present." And he was certainly right, for I fed so heartily this evening, having eaten no beef for a long time, that I was sick. And when I came to consider that ships come to this country, and the poor condition of St. Augustine Bay rendered it very unlikely they should come to trade there, I did not find; but I was by this providence likely to get sooner to England than any other place where I had yet been. And the general judged very rightly, for I had no business to go away from them; I could not mend my circumstances. So, having my liberty to go up and down where I pleased, I went to see who I knew of the captives, and found Hempshire's wife and daughter, Toby and Robin, and my own man Sambo. I took him by the hand, and said I was a slave as well as he. He said he had rather have served me, for he should not live so well.

After the general had satisfied himself with inquiring after me, I had also the same curiosity to know who it was I had for a master, and was informed he was known by the names Rer Towlerpherangha and Rer Vove. Now it is common for great men to have two names, and the last being the most in use, I shall for the future distinguish him by that only. He

* This mention of good tents is curious, as it is not usual for a Sakalava army to carry tent equipage. These wild tribes can erect temporary shelters and frail huts. The only explanation seems to be that on the banks of the river they used sails from some wreck in the neighbourhood. I have, however, seen Hova troops in tents.—*Ed.*

was grandson to Rer Trimmonongarevo, king of Saccalauvor; which is called by Europeans Yong-Owl,* and also Morandavo, from a river of that name. The man to whose care Rer Vove recommended me was named Guy; he was a principal man and distant relation of the king's family. All the great families here have a general name of distinction, on which they value themselves, as most gentlemen in Europe do by their coat of arms.

We stayed here two days, expecting Deaan Woozington would by this time have made his way through the country on the other side, and joined us; but we were informed that Rer Bafaugher, by his timely care, had stopped some passages and defended others so well, that he was glad to retire without effecting anything. Our general on this news retired to Murnumbo, hoping that Deaan Mernaugha would be rash enough to follow, and fight him; but Mernaugha wisely chose to rest for this time contented with his present loss rather than sacrifice all to a foolish notion of revenge and false valour, more justly called pride and passion. Rer Vove, seeing no more could be done, after remaining here seven or eight days, till the parties which were sent out were returned, he marched homeward, and instead of putting me under a guard as others were, he gave me a blunderbuss, and made me a guardian over several of my late country-folks, bidding me shoot any who should attempt to run away.

Among the rest who were under my care was Hempshire's widow and three other women, who one evening, as I attended them into a private place in a wood, told me, "It was hard to see themselves guarded by one who but lately fought and defended them, telling me how easy it was for us all to escape and get home, if I were willing." I answered, "They were right, as to their own interest, having families; and besides, there might be a possibility of their being sold to ships." Which was what I most heartily wished for, so that my interest was contrary to theirs. "That I would never have gone from Fer-

* The Yong-Owl of Drury is identified by Grandidier with the modern Taolampia, south of the mouth of the Morondava river, in Lat. 20° 17', nearly two hundred miles north of the Onilahy river. It is marked on Thornton's chart, 1703.

aingher, had I not been forced away; but since it had pleased God thus to dispose of me, I would run no hazards to fight against Providence, and my own reason, for I was sure of being better provided for than in Feraingher, in its present deplorable state, especially since I had lost my little stock of cattle, &c." But I assured them I would never mention what they said, which they heartily begged of me, being in some fear. And I kept my word, only looked a little more diligently after them,

We made very short marches, yet soon arrived to the borders of Saccalauvor, which was not inhabited. It is a fine country, and I saw a great many different kinds of monkeys, baboons, and virjees,* &c., and wild swine in abundance; but none of Hattoy's cattle.

In three days after we passed by several of the towns belonging to Rer Mynbolambo, *alias* Moiang Andro, it being the very country which Rer Vovvern, late king of Feraingher, procured for him by treaty of his uncle, Rer Trimmonongarevo. I saw in the towns and meadows more of the humped cattle, and larger than I had ever seen in any part of the island before, but was told that these were only near home for use, the king and lords having their principal stock of cattle a great way further to the northward, and in such numbers that they do not know how many they have; which I afterwards found true, to my amazement. Our army now lessened apace, people going home as they came near the towns they belonged to, without taking leave of the general, having no pay to take or demand. For every one is sensible that it is for his own interest to join with his neighbours, and prevent enemies from plundering them, never muttering at their generals for leading them out to war, knowing it is their own cause, and not the general's, which

* "Monkies or *Baboons* are of several sorts, and amongst others great ones, being white, with spots on their ribs and heads, and a long snout like a fox; fierce of nature like Tygers, and make a great noise in the Woods (*Propithecus*). Another sort have gray hairs, are much smaller with flat noses, and easily made tame (*Lemurs*). A third, and the most common called *Varii* (Virgis) are gray and long nosed with great shaggy tails. These may be tamed without difficulty if taken young, or else they will starve themselves to death" (*Ogilby*).

they engage in. For if they saw their lords imposed on them they would refuse to go, and could easily remove and live under others. They fight for their own safety and felicity, and if they get any plunder from their enemies they think themselves overpaid.

Moharbo is the chief town, or rather city, and residence of the king—our general's grandfather—to whom he must pay a visit before he went home. When we came within a mile or two, for form's sake three messengers were despatched to acquaint him of our approach, and to know his pleasure, who returned for answer that Rer Vove might come; he was ready to receive him. On which he put his people in order, appointing fifty men to go in the front and fire their guns; then to be relieved by fifty more; the shells all this while sounding. As we approached within sight of the king, who was sitting with his courtiers and other people, we heard their shells sound and drums beat, though they made but a dull, tub-like sound for congratulatory music, being indeed somewhat like this country tubs, made of a light tree, hollowed, and very thin, covered with a calf skin dressed like our parchment. They beat both ends at once, one with a stick and the other with the hand.*

This king lives in a more grand manner than any I had hitherto seen. He has twenty or thirty houses, or rather a court within palisades in the town; but, it not being large enough to receive so many people, he was on this occasion sitting without the town. Our first fifty men advanced capering, and firing their guns regularly one after another. Then they retreated, and the other fifty advanced. After this the general went forward, and, kneeling on one knee, licked the king's knee. Several principal men saluted him with their

* "The Men play and exercise with Assagays or Lances, among which the Drums, whom they stile *Ompivango*, beat the *Azontake* or Drums, made of a hollowed Trunk of a Tree, cover'd over with two Skins; the one of an Ox, and the other of a Goat, upon which they Tabor at one end with a stick, and at the other with their Hand" (*Ogilby*).

Flacourt, from whom Ogilby takes his account, writes:—"*L'Azontaké* ou tambour, qui est fait d'une fouche d'arbre proprement creusée, et de deux parchemins, l'un de peau de bœuf, et l'autre de peau de cabrit, etc . . ."

knee, but licked his feet; then a mat was laid at four yards' distance, and the general and three or four of the chiefs (among whom was Guy) sat down. I stood behind my master with my blunderbuss.

This king, Rer Trimmonongarevo, made a very odd and, as I thought, terrible figure. Whether it was because I had heard stories of some of his rash and barbarous actions, which had prepossessed me. But his dress was such I had never seen any like it; his hair was twisted in knots, beginning at the crown of his head, making a small ring; then another ring of knots bigger than that, and so on downward, every circle larger than the upper. On several of these knots of hair hung some fine beads. He had a forehead piece of beads so low that some of them hung over his nose; among these were several gold beads. About his neck was a very fine gold necklace; over his shoulders, in the manner of an alderman's chain, hung two strings of beads, several of them gold; on each wrist about six mannelers of silver, seeming large enough to weigh near three dollars apiece, and four rings of gold on his fingers. On each ankle were near twenty strings of beads, strung very close, also fitting very close to his legs, a silk lamber, like a mantle, over his shoulders, and another, as usual, about his waist. He was an old man, not less, by what I could find, than fourscore years of age; yet of a robust and hardy constitution. His colour rather tawny, like an Indian, than black; his eyes fierce, and his whole appearance frightful, or his singular habit and character made me think so. He soon espied me, and asked Rer Vove if I was the white man whom he took prisoner, and my name. He called to me, "Robin mehove a toee," which is, "Come hither." I laid down my blunderbuss, and walked toward him with my hands lifted up, and closed before me. When I came to him I kneeled down, and licked first one foot and then the other, as I saw the meaner people do before. He bid me sit down by him, but not so familiar as on his mat. He asked several questions of my coming on this island, and told me he had a white man himself; "but," says he, "he is an Englishman, and I don't know if you speak his language." I told him I was an Englishman. I began to have more courage now, hearing him say he kept an Englishman himself, and wondered

RAFARALAHY, CHIEF OF FOULE POINT, 1823.

that my master had not mentioned this before. I asked the king how long he had been with him, and his name. He said six or seven years, and his name was Will. He ordered a man to go immediately and call him, who returned with an answer that Will was gone out of town, and would not be back in three or four days. So, finding the king begin another discourse to the general, I returned to my former post.

After a while we went to a house appointed for our reception, where my master discharged me from guarding the slaves, saying, "He did that only to try my fidelity, for he was sure if I had not been honest they would have made their escape; and, finding me faithful, he had a trust of greater importance to commit to my care." By this time came in Ry Chemotoea, the king's head wife, and grandmother to Rer Vove. She was the biggest woman I had ever seen in my life. When she sat, her breasts hung in her lap; she never walked much, but was carried on a thing like a bier, on men's shoulders. She had a great many attendants, besides slaves, who brought four calabashes of toak, two of honey, and two of sugar-canes; also six baskets of rice. The king sent ten beeves, four of them very large, and fat oxen. Ry Chemotoea was no sooner gone than we sat down to drinking the honey-toak, till Rer Vove was very merry, and fell asleep, when three slaves came from his grandmother; one with a fat capon boiled (for they make capons here); another with a pot full of rice, boiled dry; and the third with a basket, a wooden dish, and a spoon. This was the best supper I had seen of the natives' dressing, and I had my part of it; but for all this good cheer I could not help thinking of this Will, the Englishman, and was concerned that we could not stay till he came home.

The next day we marched homewards; it was two days' journey; but we hastened to come in early the second day, because of the great triumph we were to make at our entrance, which was much the same as I have described in other places, of their wives licking their feet, &c.

Rer Vove's house was seven or eight yards long and six broad, built of boards, as are all the great men's houses in Saccalauvor, though they have no saws, but with a great deal of labour hew out boards very even with hatchets. The lan-

guage differs not from that in other countries, except as English in Yorkshire, or the West of England, where each place has some particular words, and a little difference in pronunciation.

My post here was a grand one, for I was made captain of my master's guard. His house was enclosed in palisades, at the gate of which was a little house for several youths to lay in, who were his guard, over whom I was appointed chief; but this did not continue above one month, when he singled me out to go with him shooting wild fowl by ourselves. He then told me how vicious the people of Saccalauvor were grown since the few years of the country's being made rich, and that young men, living so well, and drinking too much toak, did often lie with other men's wives, by which means murders and other mischiefs have ensued. "Now," says he, "I have no reason to suspect my wife Ry Kaley, and to prevent any suspicion for the future, I will put her under your care, and desire she may never be out of your sight by night or day, on any occasion whatsoever, except she is with me. I know she will not take this amiss, and you have no business to mind anybody else." I returned him thanks for the great opinion he had of my fidelity, and that I would take the same care I had hitherto done to discharge my duty to him in anything he thought proper to command, but was afraid some trusty old servants of his would envy me. He said, "No, for a white man is by everybody expected to be distinguished, and preferred to others." When we came home he broke it to her with such another apology as he did to me. She prevented him from asking her consent, very readily apprehending him, and saying, "She desired nothing more than that he would take some method to keep always the same opinion of her he then had, and hoping I was to be her guardian, she would submit with pleasure to it. And, from this time, Robin," says she, "I will never be out of your sight but in Rer Vove's; and I am now under your jurisdiction. See you discharge your trust as you ought to do, and do not think you can displease me in anything but in not performing your orders strictly; besides, I propose a great deal of pleasure in your company, in telling me stories of your travels and country." And, indeed, she gave me reason to think she was not displeased with my company.

She was under my care three-quarters of a year before I got rid of this troublesome charge, during which time my master took another woman to wife, if one may call it so. She had lately been divorced from a cousin of his. He was very fond of her for a little while, but soon quarrelled with her, beat her, and turned her away, returning with as much fondness to my charge, Ry Kaley, again.

A little after this Rer Vove would take a journey to the northward for pleasure, and to see his cattle; so ordering his household stuff to be removed to his head-slave's till he returned, our house was shut up, and we marched away. We were a large company: Ry Kaley, his wife, his friend Guy, with several others, besides slaves. It was just as the rains were over; so, coming to a small river, which was swelled with the floods, the people were at a stand, not caring to go through it rashly, lest alligators might have come up into the marshes, as is usual, and return again to their old haunts when the waters fell. The river was shallow enough to wade, and I, being foolhardy, would out of bravado go first. Two fine dogs, which my master loved, went into the water with me, and kept close, one on each side, for the dogs are sensible of alligators. I was about up to my belly in the water when an alligator gave such a sudden and violent spring at the dog on my left side, that the alligator's nose struck me down. The alligator, dog, and I, disappearing at once, the people thought I had been carried away; but rising, and finding myself not hurt, I went over, and they all followed me, for if there are a number of people, and a noise is made, an alligator will sink to the bottom like a stone, and lie as motionless, that if you tread on him he will not stir. We marched slowly, for, being on a journey only for pleasure, we had no occasion to fatigue ourselves. In a few hours we arrived on the banks of a very large river,* called Mernee. Here we came to a town inhabited by a people of a different species of mankind, and of a language peculiar to themselves, though they speak the general language too. Their customs and manners differ also very much, which, being some time after better acquainted, I shall give a further account.

* The river Mania.

Rer Vove ordered one of the houses of these Virzimbers (which is the name they are distinguished by) to be made very clean for him, and all their furniture to be taken away; and, as for us of his retinue, we might shift as we would. There are very few Saccalauvors will lie in the Virzimbers' houses for fear of an insect like a cow-tick,* such a kind of a creature being often found on cattle; this they call Porropongee. It is found only in the houses of these people, who take care to breed them on purpose to make their houses shunned by the Saccalauvors. For the Virzimbers were, till very lately, under no government, and often moving their habitations; so that when they came first to settle here the natives used to come into their houses and take away what they thought proper, imposing very grossly upon them till the king, under whose protection they now are, did, on their complaint, redress these grievances. This Porropongee makes people who are bit by it sick for six weeks or two months together, sticking close on the skin or in it for a long time. But when a man has been once thus bit and sick he is never hurt any more afterwards if he is among ever so many of them; or at least they do not fear them. These Virzimbers are also very subject to the distemper called colah, or yaws, which has been elsewhere described. But it is so frequent here that you may see a third part of the people of a town spotted like lepers with dry scabs. We stayed but one night here, and passed over this large river the next morning in canoes.

About half a day's journey from hence lives Rer Moume, eldest son to the King Trimmonongarevo and uncle to Rer Vove, to whom we went now on a visit. Messengers were sent before for form's sake, and the answer being received we approached the town, and found him sitting in great state under a tamarind tree, for the shade's sake, it being the heat of the day. He is a very great prince and well beloved. There were then with him twelve wives and a great many other people. When Rer Vove, with his wife Ry Kaley, came to him, they kneeled and licked his knee, she retiring among the women, and he sitting down on a mat near his uncle. But his

* *Kongona* or *Jongo* is a tick, a bug; *Ponjy*, an insect, Betsileo dialect.

aunts, all of them, except one who was blind, came to him and licked his shoulder, for they had not seen him since his return from his expedition at Ferainghe. Toak was now brought out, and some given to our principal people, among whom I always was with Guy, for he had a particular esteem for me. But my master, being a little proud of his white man, called me, in broken English, he having just enough to say, "Come hither," or, "How do you do?" When Rer Moume saw me says he, "If it were not for his hair and eyes I should scarce have known him to be a white, his skin is so burned with the sun that it is almost as swarthy as my own. Ry Anzacker there is as white as he." And, indeed, she was almost. This was his second wife, and sister to Deaan Toakeoffu, king of Munnongaro,* *alias* Masseelege. Rer Moume is not black, but of a copper colour. He has lost the use of his limbs, though without any visible distemper, having no swelling in his legs or sores, looking very well to appearance, though he cannot support himself upright. It was supposed to be brought on him by poison given him by one of his wives with an intention to kill him, she having been a captive and the wife of a neighbouring prince, their enemy, who was killed in battle. He sits on a square seat made on purpose, and no higher than he can conveniently rest his legs on the ground.

When he found I could speak their language he was extremely delighted with me, for he was a man of a great deal of good nature and humanity, which I have just reason to acknowledge. By his compassion I was redeemed from the hardships of slavery while I remained here, and at last by him dismissed in a friendly and genteel manner and sent home to England. The whole discourse now turned on me and my surprising adventures; the women, too, joined in the conversation, expressing their pity, and said, "They should be glad to have me among them; they could never do enough for me if I would gratify them with stories of my travels and country."

* Grandidier identifies the *Munongaro* of Drury with the *Mannigaro* on Thornton's map and the Mahabo mouth of the Betsiboka river. This is equivalent nearly to the modern Mojanga; and that place represents New Massalege. The Old Massalege was what is now known as Mahajamba Bay.

But this happy time was not yet come. I was to undergo some more slavery first, though it did not continue long.

My master, Rer Vove, was a gallant young man, addicted to his pleasures and some vices; and, indeed, like many young noblemen in Europe, always in action, full of fire and many of the thoughtless extravagances of men of his age and constitution, which was very vigorous. His stature was of the tallest, I dare say not less than six feet eight inches. He might be seen in an army or crowd at a distance a head taller than most people, exactly proportioned and well shaped, his legs and arms finely tapered, without bigness of the joints. I was obliged sometimes to serve him in his gallantries, of which a pretty remarkable as well as hazardous one was on this journey. After he parted from his uncle he would go and visit a cousin named Rer Chemunghoher, but coming near his town and hearing he was gone from home as far as Moherbo, a fancy came into his head to send his wife one way while he pretended business another, and to meet again three or four days after, advising her to go through some towns of the Virzimbers, who always present those of the family with one thing or another, according to their ability. He ordered most of his attendants to accompany his wife, and me, who expected to have been left her guardian, to follow him. When we were at a sufficient distance from the people he told me he had a secret to impart to me of great importance, and also desired my assistance in a certain affair he was going about. I said, "He knew my fidelity, and that I would scruple nothing but killing of people to serve him." "No," says he, "it is nothing of that nature, but the consequence may be bad if you do not manage discreetly. In short, Rer Chemunghoher has married a woman who was my wife before Ry Kaley; and I on a quarrel put her away a little too rashly, my kinsman also married her too hastily, or else we should have agreed again. The woman I still love, and her husband being now abroad I design you shall procure me an interview with her. There is a Maurominter * (which is a black man of any other country), who speaks English; you shall go as on a visit to see him, and by that means you may come to speak with her." I was

* See note, p. 102.

glad of this opportunity to see this English Maurominter, and therefore readily agreed to it. And having my full instructions and a man to show me the way I left my master at a small village about two hours' walk from Rer Chemunghoher's town, and proceeded on the business.

Lewis received and entertained me very handsomely. He was born in Jamaica, followed the sea, and being taken by pirates was set on shore at Augustine Bay, where he lived some time, till the troubles of that country came on; and then he, as well as many natives, came away for more safe and plentiful living. So that between the affairs of Feraingher and England we had discourse enough for a long time. But his wife going out I took the opportunity to ask him if he could bring me to the speech of their lord's wife. He guessed at my business, knowing the story, though I told him no more than was just necessary for my purpose. But he went to her, and she sent word she would come; which she did soon, with only one maid to attend her. It was a good gloss enough for her to say she came out of curiosity to see a white man. Lewis and his wife going out, and she saying I might deliver any message before her maid, whom she would trust with her life, I soon told my errand, and how melancholy Rer Vove was ever since he came near the town. In short, I found her as eager as himself for the interview, and she appointed that night in a wood at a convenient distance. She returned home, sending her maid with some toak to me, which Lewis and I having drunk, I went with the joyful news to my master; and it being a moonlight night we came to the place appointed; though going over a river and through a plantation, the dogs barking, the owner had like to discover us, for they are forced to listen to the dogs, the wild hogs often making great havoc in the night.

I left him in the wood and went to Lewis, for whose coming she waited. He conducted her through a breach in the palisade, for the gate was always guarded, and I conducted her to her lover. Her maid followed with a capon and rice, and a calabash of toak. They embraced each other with great passion. The maid was for serving up the supper, but they had other affairs to talk of first, which we perceiving withdrew, and diverted ourselves as well as we could. It was two hours

before he whistled, which was the signal to come, when we supped with them, and then roving about at a distance left them again till it was daybreak. "Now, Robin," says he, "we must do as the wild boars do—get at a distance from the place where they have been doing their mischief." So re-passing the river we walked about till noon, when a man was to come and bring some victuals. As I was looking out and listening for the token, which was whistling, I went toward him; but he, being a silly fellow and knowing nothing of a white man, threw down the meat and calabash of toak and ran away frightened, going home and telling his mistress he met with a white spirit, who ran after him for the meat, which he was forced to leave behind him. This caused us mirth enough the next night, when she came again. A capon, rice, and toak were brought also this evening, and I could not forbear being very pleasant with my master, having now patience enough to sup and regale himself with toak first. After which they bid us go and watch at a distance, and find some diversion or other to pass the night away. And, indeed, if we had not made ourselves merry and agreeable to one another, as such an occasion required, we should have been dull people, and have made the nights very long and tedious. We slept till daybreak, and when I went toward them they were not risen. Then they were to take their leave, which they did by embracing and rubbing their noses together, drawing their breath like people who take snuff. After which they parted well satisfied for this time.

It was now broad daylight, so that when we attempted to go over the plantation the way we came the people were up, and we being two such remarkable persons, he by his height and I by my colour, the seeing us at a distance would have been sufficient to betray the whole secret. So that we had no way to take but through a thicket of briars and thorny wood, where I went first crawling on my knees and beating them down with a stick, my master following, till our shoulders bled in many places, which we did not mind at first for eagerness, and when we did it signified nothing, for it would have been as bad to have gone back. So on we went through all; but when we were got on the other side of the river we stood to look on one

another, and seeing how our hides were scratched and torn we could not forbear laughing, though we were not without a great deal of smart. We were glad to choose private ways still, being as much ashamed now as we were before afraid of being seen. When we came to Guy he could not forbear laughing at us. Rer Vove said, "We had been hunting a wild boar, and following him eagerly into the thickets were thus scratched." "It was more likely," said Guy, "a wild woman, and the owner pursuing you close you were glad to escape to the nearest wood." Ry Kaley also was a little jealous, but we laughed it off.

After we were together again we proceeded to the northward, where all the cattle is kept. This is the finest country that ever I saw, and the most plentiful of every necessary for the use of mankind. These people never go out to war, but are left to take care of the king's and lord's cattle, and have also plenty of their own. The king's cattle are marked with a mark called Chemerango. Here are so many thousands of them that it is not known to two or three thousand how many he has. You may see oxen not able to walk for age and others for fatness. They never trouble themselves to milk the fourth part of the cows, though the place is populous and as large as some king's dominions, which are a great many towns, many Virzimbers dwelling among them. The chief town is very large where the principal herd keeps a great court and has absolute authority to decide controversies and punish without appeal. He made, when we saw him, as great a figure as a king, and was sitting with his people about him in the same manner, though he arose to kiss Rer Vove's knee (not his feet) out of a particular respect to him. He has eight thousand head of cattle of his own, and three hundred slaves. He presented my master with five of his own and fifteen of the Chemerango. He never goes out on foot, but is carried on a bier on men's shoulders; indeed, he is very old, having been cow-keeper to Rer Trimmonongarevo's father, Deaan Lohefute.

Butter and cheese might be made here, were there anybody in the country that understood it, for the cows give a great deal of milk, though I think not altogether so much as ours in England; but then they continue it more months in a year, the summer time in this hot country being the worst for the

cattle, though in this place here are so many rivers, brooks, and springs, that they never have the drought which we found in Anterndroea. Here are also tallow and hides enough if they thought it worth their while to regard them. Many other commodities are to be found here which deserve notice, as wax, in such plenty that it is thrown away; and there is iron in many parts of the country as well as here, which the natives know very well how to make steel of; also copper of their own production, of which they make mannelers. These metals I can affirm they have for certainty. They have silver in some of the most mountainous and inland parts of the country, and know how to make ear-plates of it and mannelers, so that I have the strongest reason to think the country produces it, as well as it does a white metal like British tin or tutaneg; * nor is there much reason to doubt but gold is to be had here. Many other things would be found which I, not being able to give a satisfactory account of, do choose to pass over. But I must not omit to mention two or three kinds of silk which is in plenty in every part of the island where I have been, some of a brownish colour. But there is one sort white, the outside of it is full of very small pointed prickles, which run into one's fingers; the cod or bag is about three inches long, shaped like a ninepin. At the top when we take it is found a hole, out of which I have seen a blackish worm creep. I am not able to describe the worm, nor have I been curious enough to know of its changing its form, as the common silkworm does. Yet this I know, that there are no mulberry trees; but these worms † and silk are found on three or four sorts of trees, cleaving, when they spin, to the thick branches or body of the tree. I have seen the people pull the cod out to a length on their knees with their hands, tearing it to pieces, and then spin it with a spindle made of a bone and a rock-staff. Then they weave it as they do cotton, and it makes very pretty and fine lambers. But there is some trouble in the managing of it, which is all the reason I can assign for their not making more use of it. In this part of Saccalauvor where the cattle are kept is a tree

* *Tutaneg*, or zinc.

† Fine silk lambas (*lamba landy*) are woven from the cocoons of two Bombycidæ or silk-worms, viz., *Brocera madagascariensis* and *Saturnia suraka*.

called Rofeer,* which is of great use to the lower or middling sort of people to make lambers of. The leaf is like a cocoanut tree leaf, but longer by two feet. They take the outer part off and put the other two or three days to dry, which is then like a long shaving, thin and white. Then they moisten it again and split it into threads, which they knot neatly together and weave into cloth. They often dye some of it, and make their lambers striped. This tree bears a plum almost like a damson.

After Rer Vove had seen his cattle, and left about two hundred behind him, which he got by this journey, we returned home to plant rice, for the greatest men look after their plantations themselves, and take care to get provisions for their families. He had not been at home long before he had business which called him to Moherbo; and by Guy's cunning and intercession I got leave to accompany him. My desire was to see the Englishman. He soon found me out, and we were more glad to see each other than relations who live at a distance. His name was William Thornbury; he had been in the country nine years. It was the first voyage he made, being then a boy, who, like me, would go to sea. But a hard gale of wind suddenly arising drove their ship from her anchors, and whether they saw a pirate, or what was the true cause, he could not tell, but they never returned, leaving him with the surgeon and another man ashore. The two last died with grief in a few months, and he was left by himself. The king took what few goods their captain had left on shore, sending for him and saying, "He had no occasion for anything, for he would provide him everything he wanted and send him home by the first ship." In all which he was as good as his word,

* *Rofeer.* The *Sagus rofia.* It is called *Moufia* by Flacourt.

Ogilby writes: "*Moufia* clothes are wrought in Galemboullou, *Manghabei*, and the Bay of Antongil of the peelings of tender Leaves, which shoot from the tree *Moufia*, the overgrown being great stalky leaves, twelve or fifteen feet long."

It bears a fruit, adds Flacourt, like a *pomme de pin, i.e.*, a pine cone, which, in truth, the clusters of seeds greatly resemble.

"The bark of the Tree (Fantatstanou) growing at the waterside they first draw to Thred and afterwards boyl in a strong Lye: the scowr'd Threds are afterwards twisted together, and by means of a Spindle spun together, and at last woven into Cloth."

never attempting to make a slave of him as Mevarrow did of me; so that when we compared our fates mine was much the severer. He went to the king's eldest wife for some toak to treat me with, who readily gave it him.

This king's person I have already described. I had heard a great deal of his choleric and cruel actions before now. William Thornbury let me a little into his character. I found, upon taking in the whole account of him, that ambition and glory was his chief aim, which he looked upon to lie in the prosperity and wealth of his country, for Saccalauvor was of very little more account than other countries till his time, or less powerful than Ferainghèr. But he having expelled both his brothers at his assuming the supreme authority, one, as I have already related, fled to Ferainghèr, and obtained part of the country to the southward. The other, with about eight hundred men, passed through the fine country where the cattle are kept, and where the Virzimbers then dwelt, going on still further to the northward, and settled on that river now called by the Europeans Masseelege. The Virzimbers fled from him at first, but finding he meant them no harm, and was only seeking a place of safety, they returned to their habitations and lived under his inspection. Here he founded a kingdom almost as large and potent as his brothers, which his son, Deaan Toakoffu, now possesses. Rer Trimmonongarevo finding his brother had thus happily established himself, sent ambassadors and concluded a league of amity with him, he being a man of a good humane disposition, readily came into it, hoping God and his father, deceased, Deaan Lohefute, would forgive his brother, and for the future bless them both.

Rer Trimmonongarevo now courted some of the Virzimbers, giving them towns on the banks of Mernee. He also was very generous amongst his own subjects, making many of them who had suffered losses in serving him presents of cattle and slaves, but more especially took all the politic ways he could to entice people to come from other countries to live in Saccalauvor, presenting them with slaves and cattle. I have already mentioned how civilly he treated the Ferainghèr people, whose families were at any time taken in war, restoring all the captives and cattle if their masters and relations would come

and live in his dominions. By this means they are grown vastly populous and rich, the people living in plenty and safety; they value and adore him as a beneficial father of his country. But see now the danger of submitting without restriction to the arbitrary will and pleasure of any man, even though he has many useful and great virtues and qualifications. People thereby become slaves to the man, who is not in all respects an hero, but attended with human frailties, and to passions less governable than in men of a lower rank. Superior greatness is his view, which explained, is advancing his prerogative power beyond what his predecessors did, and to show that he can more absolutely determine according to his will than any of his contemporaries. To accomplish this is the itch of ambitious princes, and to enjoy it and let the world see it is the titillating lust of the vicious great, and this was the misfortune of Saccalauvor, at least that part of it which was under the immediate civil jurisdiction of Rer Trimmonongarevo. For the other lords, his sons and nephews were as humane as in any other part of the island; but so proud was he of the authority he had usurped, to show that he could act according to his own will, and was not to be guided by the traditional laws, that if an ambassador or strangers were at his town, they seldom missed of seeing him order one of any two contending parties to immediate execution for very trivial, and sometimes no faults. He did not discover this barbarous disposition till he was sufficiently established, and then in his choler several instances were seen of his cruelty; and by this means he lost many subjects, who went to live under others. Some went quite out of the country to his brother's son, Toakoffu, though they were pretty safe with his own sons and nephews. And this is a remedy which these people have against arbitrary power, they making no religious scruples of their kings being their master by Divine authority, nor think themselves obliged by ties of religion to suffer any impositions. The lords also have contracted a very humane habit of being proud to relieve the distressed, even though there has been enmity before. This was Deaan Crindo's son's case when he fled to Antenosa, and this very king's brother's, Rer Mynbolambo's, when he fled to

Feraingher; and to this generous virtue do I owe my deliverance.

I was one day among the crowd before this king, when I heard him cough and fetch his breath a little uneasy, at which the people fell immediately prostrate on the ground. The reason was it seems in such a fit of shortness of breathing he not long before took up a blunderbuss and fired among them without speaking, and making no other excuse when he had thus killed and wounded two or three people, but, "Why did they stifle him?" I never before saw such abject slavery on the island, and yet I must do him the justice to say he was far from being in all his actions and determinations a bloody tyrant; for except two or three instances of severe executions for ostentation his other cruelties were only now and then, the effects of violent passions of choler, which grew worse in his old age; indeed, he more often directed corporal punishments than are used in any other country. Here was, while I was present, a woman came complaining to him against another for robbing her mistress, one of his wives; but in the end the accuser was found a vile creature, and one who, when they examined her, had her ears cut off for a former theft. Some ambassadors were then present (and the wicked wretch had chosen this time on purpose to accomplish the end of her malice the more cruelly), for the people expected a bloody decision, and it so happened; yet one can scarce say it was unjust, though very severe, for after examining with a great deal of patience into every minute circumstance of the case, he ordered the vile accuser to be led away and killed. The accused desired she might have the pleasure of doing it herself, which he complied with, giving her a sword. She soon overtook the executioner, who, seeing the king's sword, held the criminal while the other stabbed her in the throat. These are instances enough to show the virtues and vices and singular disposition of this extraordinary king.

While I was here I saw William Purser, the interpreter, with several other principal people of Feraingher, and among the rest my old friend Ry-Nanno (Rer Vovvern's ambassador to Deaan Crindo, who first directed me to Feraingher) came to see me. He lived as great as in his own country, having

voluntarily followed some of his family who were taken captive.

Rer Vove was now returning home, and my countryman and I were to part, which we did with great reluctance, yet not before giving one another full instructions where to find our friends, whoever should be so happy to arrive in England first; which proved to be his good fortune.

A few days after we were at home the two ambassadors who were at Moherbo, returning to their own country, and passing through our town, Rer Vove persuaded them to stay a night with him, and allotted them an house, to which they sent for me, seating me on their own mat between them. They said they had a curiosity to inquire after my country and manners, and also my own adventures. I gratified them as well as I was able, or rather as they were capable of understanding; for they would give but little credit to the largeness and grandeur of our court, city, fleets, and armies, &c. I, in my turn, asked them where their country lay. They said, "It was a mountainous inland place divided into two kingdoms, called Amboerlambo, and governed by two brothers. They had vast large ears, with bright silver plates in them, glittering like comets." I was curious to know how they came so, and they told me, "When they are young a small hole is made, and a piece of lead put in it at first; after the wound is healed they have a small spring-ring put into it, which dilates it by degrees, and after this another till the hole is large enough; then they place in it these silver plates, which are neatly made, and exactly adjusted to the hole with great care for fear of breaking it. Some of these holes in their ears are large enough for a woman's hand to go through. They have artificers among themselves who make these ornaments. The poorer sort," they said, "who could not afford silver, had them of tutaneg, which they call Ferotchfutey. They come into this country to trade with iron, chiefly of which they make a great deal. They bring silk also. Their air is not healthy, the valleys being foggy and marshy, and not very wholesome for cattle, nor proper to be inhabited, so that they buy cattle. The mountains are so stony that they have scarce earth deep enough for foundations to their houses." They also told

me "that Rer Trimmonongarevo will not sell them any guns, nor suffer his people. Before guns were brought by the Europeans on the island they were too strong for the Saccalauvors in Deaan Lohefutey's time, but this king is too powerful. They have," they say, "a trade sometimes to Mattatanna and Antenósa, but not sufficient to furnish them with arms and ammunition. I found they deal very much in metals of all kinds."

I lived pretty well hitherto, and for about three months longer, when I heard a ship came to Yong-Owl to trade. Her name (as I have been since informed) was the *Clapham-Gally*, Capt. Wilks, commander. Every one who had slaves to sell carried them down to the seaside. My master was also preparing some. I was overjoyed at the thought, but could not tell which way to move my request. At length I went to my friend Guy's house, and expostulating the case with him and his wife, prevailed on him to desire my master to send me down and sell me to the captain; which he did one evening when I was absent. And it was well I was, for had it not been for the intercession of some friends he would immediately have found me out and shot me. When I came to him he bid me deliver him my gun, saying, "I was a captive taken in war, and a slave; and he would make me know it. Will," he said, "was an unfortunate lad left by accident on shore; his case was therefore different." So calling his cook, "Here, Mechorow," says he, "take this white slave, and see he works under you like other slaves." Mechorow did not fail to obey his orders, using me so much the worse, because I had before some command over him. He often made me carry an iron pot on my head when Rer Vove and his wife went for their pleasure on the islands in the middle of the river Mernee, where sometimes he would go to kill wild fowl and destroy alligators. But before the ship went away I endeavoured to inform the captain by this means. I took a satter leaf about two inches broad and a foot and a half long, marking on it these words: "Robert Drury, son of Mr. Drury, living at the King's Head in the Old Jury, now a slave on the island of Madagascar, in the country of Morandavo, *alias* Yong-Owl." I desired a man, who was going to the seaside, to

deliver this to any of the white men; but when he returned I asked him what they said to it. He answered, "He supposed the white man to whom he gave it did not like it, for he threw it away; and I am sure it was as good an one as that you gave me; for it's true I dropped yours, but I pulled one of the best I could find from a tree." My heart was so full at this disappointment that I turned away from him, and went into the woods to vent my sorrow by weeping. I soon heard that Will Thornbury was dismissed, and was in some hopes of his working my redemption. But in a little time I heard the ship was sailed, and not one word of me mentioned. This made me distracted with despair, and what was the reason the captain took no notice of me I am still at a loss to know; for Will Thornbury to be sure could not help mentioning me.

Soon after this I was taken with a pain and soreness in my bones, which I at first took for a cold, but it increased so that I could not walk without two sticks. This held for three months, and then I began to have blotches break out all over my body. My neighbours soon found it was the colah, or yaws, and Rer Vove sent me to a Virzimber's house on the banks of Mernee to be cured. They took the bark of a tree, which I know not the name of, steeping it in water. With this they washed and bathed me every day, which in some weeks' time made my bones easier, and in a few weeks more the sores cleansed and wore away, after which I recovered my strength. The whole time was six months which I lived with these Virzimbers.*

These are almost a different species of people from the others. Their heads are of a very singular shape, the hinder part as flat as a trencher, and the forehead very near so, which I do not think to be natural, but framed thus by pressing and squeezing the children from their birth. Their hair is not long as the other natives, nor perfectly woolly, though near so. Their religion is also differing, they having no Owleys in their houses, paying a veneration to the new moon, and to several

* The Vazimba seem to have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the highlands of Imerina, and their characteristics here given apply to the early descriptions of the *Amboa-Lambo*, now known to us as the Hovas.

animals, as a cock, a lizard, and some others. Whether or no they think these creatures have spirits or demons attending them I cannot say, for they speaking among themselves when they pleased a peculiar language, of which I could learn but a few words, I was not able to penetrate far into their reasons for these particularities. When they sit down to meals they take a bit of meat and throw it over their heads, saying, "There's a bit for the spirit." Then they cut four more little bits, and throw to the lords of the four quarters of the earth. This is the general practice of those who have a regard to religion, but there are many who neglect it, as some in Europe do saying grace to their meals. They dress their victuals in much better order than the other people, always boiling plantains or potatoes with their meat, and making good soup thickened well as in Europe.

They make very good earthenware, as pots, dishes, and jugs, glazing them within and without, and are very ingenious artificers in many other things. Notwithstanding their superior ingenuity, I could not find that ever they formed themselves into regular kingdoms or large commonwealths, herding together in towns, each town being a distinct and independent commonwealth, which frequently produced quarrels and wars, one little town against another, there being no general law or government which could adjust their claims and determine differences between one town and another, till they in this part came to live under Rer Trimmonongarevo, and other under Deaan Toakoffu. There are more of them, as I have heard, in other parts of the island dispersed about, and shifting their habitations, which these used to do formerly. I am apt to think it would not be easy to determine whether these are not the original natives or first inhabitants of the island. I remarked here that difference in religion is no crime nor offence to each other; also that they have no priests any more than the others.

I, having now almost recovered my strength, began to think of the misery of returning to my former slavery, and therefore, after some debate with myself, I resolved to run the hazard of throwing myself at Rer Moume's feet to beg his protection, let the consequence be as it would. Death was better than

perpetual slavery. Accordingly one morning I desired my landlord to put me over the river in his canoe, pretending only to go a little way on a visit to a friend, it not being above two hours' walk to Rer Moume's town.

When I came there I found him sitting under a kind of penthouse, with his wives about him. I laid down and licked his feet, then rising on my knees I held up my hands, "Craving mercy and protection from the ill-usage of my master, Rer Vove, he having reduced me to the most abject slavery for only getting a friend beg him to sell me (not to give me) to my countrymen, that I might once more see my dear parents, from whom I had been so many years absent. My master told me I was his slave, taken in war, though I was no otherwise there than Will was here, a poor unfortunate wretch roving about anywhere, till I could find an opportunity to get to my native country, and was not his enemy nor taken in arms. If you deliver me to him he will kill me, and there will be an end of my misery; but I hope for more mercy from you." I soon perceived my melancholy story moved his compassion, for the tears stood in his eyes, and some of the women wept. "He bid me rise and rest satisfied that he would not deliver me up to Rer Vove. If my kinsman wants slaves," says he, "to work (though I know he does not) I will send him two or three in your room; therefore be not afraid, I will protect and provide for you." Then turning to one of his wives, "Here," says he, "Ry Anzacker, be you from henceforth Robin's mother, and see he wants for nothing: I shall desire no other service," says he to me, "of you, but to see my chest of arms, which are more than an hundred, kept clean, and my flints and shot kept in order, and you shall have servants to do the work." Then calling a slave, ordered him to build me a house next to my mother's, within his palisade. In two days' time I was a housekeeper, Ry Anzacker proving very kind to me, and I never walked out without a gun like a free man.

A few days after came messengers from Rer Vove to Rer Moume; I was present when they demanded in their lord's name his white slave. Rer Moume examined them first, to know if what I had told him was true, and when he found it so, he said, "I am sorry my kinsman is so inconsiderate a

young man to act thus! Whoever saw before a white man a slave to a black man's cook-slave, except among the worst of brutes in that unpolished country Anterndroea? It was not just for him to force him against his will from Feraingher, and when he had been here it would have been like a wise and good man to have gone to the English captain and presented Robin to him, making a merit of taking care of him: by this means he had done a generous action, and it would have been an honour to himself and to us all. He surely forgets the benefits we have from the English, and that till they brought us arms we were insulted by all our neighbours. Here, take this woman-slave and give him; she is able to do him more work than Robin, if he wants work from him. I do assure you I shall make no slave of him, he may go now when he will, and live anywhere else, if he don't like to stay with me; even to Rer Vove again if he pleases; but not till I am assured he shall be better treated. Here, take the woman in his room." But they came again the next day with the woman, renewing their yesterday's request, to which he gave a peremptory answer that they should not have me.

I was here treated with great civility by all the king's wives, though more especially by my mother, Ry Anzacker, they delighting to hear me relate my misfortunes and adventures. I used to go often with Rer Moume to a broad lake, with islands in it, several miles round, called the Kereendee.* This place was drowned formerly by the Mernees breaking its banks. Rer Moume was always carried in a conveniency, not altogether unlike a sedan, without a covering, and had a canoe large enough to admit twenty men, in which was a seat made purposely for him, he not being able to sit on the floor as other

* Itasy, the largest of the Lakes, and Ifanja, the largest of the marshes at the source of the Tsijobonina River, the Mernee of Drury, have been formed, says Mr. Baron, doubtless by the sinking in of certain portions of the district. In the time of Andrianimpoinimerina, a headland projecting into the water on the west side of the Ifanja marsh, on which was a village, suddenly gave way, and down it sank with the village and its inhabtants. From that time it was said that Lake Itasy was formed by one Rapeto damming up the head waters of the river. The Sedan is the palanquin known as Fitakon.

people did. Several other canoes of ten hands, and five; and some small ones of two hands, used to accompany him. Our business was fowling and fishing, in which the Virzimbers are very dexterous, making nets of different sorts, and also fish-hooks for angling, which Rer Moume took delight in. His son, Rer Chulu, diverted himself often with killing alligators; the most common way he used was with a harpoon, the head fixed on, and a rope was fastened to the steel and staff both; they paddle along the water toward the alligator, whom they commonly espy at a distance, they keeping their noses above water, and appear like a cake of cow-dung floating. When they come within ten or a dozen yards, he sinks to the bottom, crawling a good way before he stops; but his path is discovered by a bubble rising up, and where the bubble stands there they strike, for after a noise is made, they lie flat on their bellies, with their sides pressed out, so that they are frequently stabbed with the harpoon, though when it alights on their backs or heads it makes no more entrance than it would on a rock. The Virzimbers make a net of ropes, with large meshes, and with these they sometimes take them; they also take them with a snare made with a spring-stick, which draws up a noose in a rope; these they place at the mouth of a rivulet or small canal. And by these ways I have known Rer Chulu and his company destroy twenty or thirty in a day.

Rer Moume presented me with three cows, which in four months calved; and one day as I was sitting by him, he asked why I did not take a wife. I told him I could not maintain one, and that at present I lived well, and better than I could with a woman. He said it was not decent for a man to live without a wife; and as for maintaining her, I will enable you to do that, and recommend a woman to you. So finding him persist in it, I suffered myself to be persuaded, but with this condition, that he should not command the woman, but ask her if she was willing, and leave it to her choice; which he readily agreed to. So sending for one of my mother's maids, he told her the case, and that if she liked me, she should be my wife, and bid her speak freely, for he did not design to force her. But she very cheerfully said she approved of it. Then Ry Anzacker took her back again to dress her up very

fine with beads and a silk lamber, &c., and brought her to me. I desired the prince to make a formal marriage by taking her hand and asking us both if we were willing, and then giving her to me by the hand, which he readily gratified me in, with a great deal of good nature, and was very merry, as were also the women, as is usual on such occasions, and the ladies attended us home, not empty-handed, for they gave us a great deal of such furniture as we wanted. The next day the prince gave me a plantation with rice-growing, and potatoes, &c., fit to dig. He presented me also with a slave, a boy about sixteen years of age, and a few days after he sent me with others to fetch some cattle from a man, who was proved guilty before him of stealing some beasts from his neighbours, for which he was fined twenty beeves. This was the first time he ever sent me on such an errand, though not the last, and people of the best rank are fond of going, for they always have a good present for their pains. He gave me a cow with her calf, and a young bull of three years old. I went on such occasions afterwards, and never had less for my labour than one beast, and sometimes two, so that I was rich, and sent most of my cattle four miles off, agreeing with a man to give him every tenth calf out of those he should bring up for me, keeping only three cows at home for their milk; so that I lived now as happy as the country would admit of, even so much to my satisfaction that, had it not been for the hopes of seeing my father and mother, I don't know whether I should have taken much pains to have come to England, and even when I wished for that, I was very easy, not doubting but William Thornbury would let my friends know where I was.

Some months after this, Rer Vove sent word he was coming to visit his uncle; which I no sooner heard than I went to Rer Moume, telling him I was going for three or four days to visit his son, Rer Chemunghoher. Rer Moume told me he knew what I meant, but I had no occasion to fear Rer Vove, for he should not have me against my will, advising me to stay and see him; which I did. After some business was talked of, and they had drunk toak together, he looked toward me, telling his uncle he wondered he should treat him so uncivilly as to keep his slave from him. Rer Moume told him he did

not know he had any slave of his, and if he would name him he should be restored. "Why there he stands;" says Rer Vove. "Who?" says the uncle. "I hope you don't mean Robin, the white man. Is he your slave? I am ashamed of your folly. Is it not by the white men, and particularly by his countrymen, the English, that we are become rich? We, who used to be insulted heretofore by the Amboerlambo people and other neighbouring nations, are by these Englishmen's guns made too strong for them, and by the beads, looking-glasses, &c., which they bring in abundance, our late enemies are become petitioners to us to trade with them. And is it not, think you, a fine story for Will to tell, that one of his countrymen, who was shipwrecked in this country, is made a slave of by one of the black lords of Morandavo? But to show you that I don't make a slave of him, he is now at his liberty to go anywhere as he pleases, and take his wife, slave, and cattle with him, even with you, if you can persuade him, and give me assurance of your making a free man of him." Thus did he reason with his nephew, and reproach him with the indiscretion and barbarity of treating a distressed man ill, till he convinced him of his mistake, insomuch that he turned to me and desired I would come in the evening and see him, which I did. When I entered the house I licked his knee, by way of respect, but not his feet, to let him see that I knew myself to be a free man. He used a great many arguments to persuade me to go to live with him, and promised me great things, which I do not know but he would have performed, for he was not a very ill man, only wild, and a little too inconsiderate and thoughtless. He also set Guy to work, who made use of one very tempting argument, that Rer Vove was going to travel into other kings' dominions, out of curiosity to see their different manners and customs. I told Guy the true reason why I would not, which was, that I was a great deal nearer the sea than when with them, and I did not doubt but Rer Mouine would send me home when a ship came. I sat after this and drank toak with them, took my leave, and was returning homeward, when Rer Vove followed me, and desired I would never speak of his amour with his kinsman's wife; which I assured him I would not mention while I lived here,

and we parted good friends. It is not unworthy of our remark, that this gay young man should so easily concede to his uncle's arguments, hear him with reverence, and be convinced by reason.

I lived thus with Rer Moume as easy and happy as he could make me, and thought my misfortunes were at an end, except that of being in a foreign country. But my angry fate had yet one more horrid scene of danger to fright me with before I parted from this island, and it was as terrible and shocking to human nature as any I had yet undergone, and the more so because unexpected by myself and everybody else, which was thus introduced. There lived at Moherbo one Francisco, an inoffensive, good man, born in the East Indies of Portuguese parents, but black as many of them are. He had lived here many years to his satisfaction, never intending to go to Europe or remove from off the island; he had been taken by pirates, who, at his request, set him ashore. This man, though bred, as he said, to surgery, yet had a mechanical genius, especially to joiners' and carpenters' business, and had accordingly furnished himself with tools fit for his purpose, and used often to oblige the princes and lords with making them chests, &c. Rer Moume sent and desired him to get leave of Rer Trimmonongarevo to come and make him a chest, which he did; he spoke the Madagascar language, so that we were agreeable companions. He told me, as part of his history, that he was passionately in love with a young woman, whose parents, though they did not absolutely forbid his pretences, yet did not incline to the match. After staying with us about two months, and finishing what Rer Moume had to do, he was dismissed with generous presents of cattle.

After he had been at home some months, I, with Rer Moume's leave, went to Moherbo to visit him, and found him very ill and melancholy, his mistress having been married in his absence, which he took to heart. He had made her several valuable presents, and received her promise of marriage, which presents he demanded of her parents again, and on their refusal complained to the king, he being in esteem and always near him. His request was nevertheless refused, the king saying he would not interpose with parents

disposing of their children. On which Francisco indiscreetly said, before he was gone out of hearing, that as soon as he was recovered, he would go away from Moherbo and live under Rer Moume. Now by the time I had been here a few days, and his strength began to return, I went with him among the crowd to the king's court. As I was standing by him, the king, espying me, looked with a stern countenance and asked, "Who that white man was with his gun on his shoulder?" Francisco answered, "It was Rer Moume's white man, who came to see him." "Is it so?" says he; "then I know his business. Come hither. What do you here?" I, knowing his barbarous disposition, answered faintly and trembling, "Only to visit my sick friend." "Yes," replied the king, "your friend there said he would go to your master, Rer Moume, as soon as he was well, and you are come to conduct him; but I will prevent your design. Here, Mesoro (the common executioner), take this white slave, lead him to the usual place and dispatch him, and bring me his gun." The people were struck with surprise as well as myself; but I was led out, multitudes following me; many of them desired only to shake hands, and take their leave, which the executioner permitted. I was so prodigiously shocked with this tiger-like leap which this savage brute made at my life, that I was stunned and stupid, not knowing whether I was in a dream till I came to the place of execution, where I saw the bones of several wretches unburied, and then I began to weep piteously, and recommend myself to God to receive my soul. "What a shocking change was this! I, who but a few minutes before was among none but friends, with my mind innocent and clear of evil and malice, my actions inoffensive, and no man complaining of injury from me, should be now under the pains of death by the hand of a common executioner, like a vile malefactor, only to gratify the rage of a doting, choleric old savage!" While I was exclaiming and crying, "Where is justice either in God or man?" and the people idly lamenting my hard misfortune, instead of turning on the monster and delivering themselves from his tyranny, a voice was heard calling at a distance, "Stay, stay! don't kill Robin." It was soon repeated, and the messenger came forward, ordering me to be brought back;

at which the people gave a general shout of gladness. When I came before him, the oldest of his wives was on her knees crying; all the rest too, as well as other women and some men, telling him he would bring ruin and irretrievable misery on the country, which his great-grandchildren would feel the effect of when the white men should know his cruelty to one of their countrymen, who was evidently innocent, too. This at length moved him to a little abatement of his rage, and he told me, "I might thank them, else I had been dog's-meat by this time; but," says he, "I have not done with you. Here," says he to three men, "take him bound as he is and carry him to Rer Moume, with his gun, and tell my son I desire he will treat him like a slave as he is, and not let him vapour about like a lord, with his gun on his shoulder." I fell down and licked his feet, the people making signs to me so to do. He bid me thank the women. I went to Ry Chemetoc and one or two others, and did it with a great deal of sincerity, for to them only I owed my life.

We went directly away on our journey, and as we passed through any town, the people asked with wonder, "What the white man had done to be thus bound?" To whom my guard did not disguise the case in the king's favour, telling all the truth, which every one seemed to pity and resent. When we came to lie down to sleep, they asked me, "If I would have my hands loosed?" I asked, "What orders they had?" They said, "Strict command to keep me bound." "Then," says I, "you shall not run the hazard of your lives, though it is painful to me." So I lay as well as I could all night, and travelled in the same manner the next day, every now and then looking behind me, fearing he should change his mind and send somebody after us to kill me, for I could not think myself safe till I was with Rer Moume again.

In my journey my guards told me I was the first that was ever brought back alive from the place of execution; which I could not but ascribe to a special providence. They likewise informed me that he stabbed one of his principal wives (though he repented it when his passion was over) for breaking wind downwards, whilst he laid his head in her lap, intending to sleep. Another instance I heard, I cannot say whether of his

justice or cruelty, was, in ordering one of his sons to be laid on a mat, and his throat to be cut before his face for lying with one of his wives.

We could not reach there this evening by two hours' walk, so we rested, and early in the morning went forward and arrived at our own town, where the people were strangely surprised to see me thus bound and guarded. Some ran before to acquaint the prince, who, by the time we came within his palisade, was sitting with his wives and a number of people in great expectation. The men being seated told the message. I was standing all the while with my hands bound behind me. After he had examined them strictly and found how it was, his countenance changed. Sometimes the tears stood in his eyes as he looked at me with pity, and sometimes he frowned with anger; the women wept. "And is this all," says he, "the poor man has been so used for? Come hither, Robin, you shall all see what regard I have to my father's advice in this case." On which he unbound me with his own hands and ordered his people to fetch out a fine silk lamber, which he made me put on immediately; then taking the gun from the men, gave it me, and said he would present me with six cows. I told him the messengers were very civil to me, for which he thanked them, and made them a present of an ox. "It is true," says he, "he is my father who has done this; I will restrain my passion and resentment, and say as little as possible; but if any other man, though a near relation, or even my own son had acted thus, I would have had severe satisfaction." My wife came also and licked my feet, expressing her concern for my trouble, and joy for my deliverance. This was about a year and a quarter from the time I came first to Rer Moume.

I had now about thirty head of cattle, and lived very easy and happy. I killed a young bullock, and flayed that part I kept to myself, salting it after the English manner, and made a tolerable shift to make candles of the tallow. That which I presented to my neighbours I left the skin on, for we have the same neighbourly and friendly customs here as in other parts of the island, neither are their manners in anything differing, except in the silly custom of the king's family killing cattle.

Swine's flesh, too, is eaten here, and accounted as good as anything else. Rer Chulu kept a pack of dogs on purpose to hunt wild boars, but these dogs are not of the hound kind. The religion is also the same exactly, and their superstitious regard to unlucky days and hours as the Umossee tells them; insomuch that many poor children are privately murdered who are born on an *Alhaida*, or on a *Jumor*, which are Sunday and Friday; for I took good notice when I came on board the ship to remark how the days answered with ours, and found that *Alhaida* is Sunday, *Alletenine* Monday, *Talawter* Tuesday, *Alarrerbere* Wednesday, *Comemeeshey* Thursday, *Jumor* Friday, *Sarbuchee* Saturday. These names are general to the whole island, but they regard not one day more than the other, only as they think some are lucky and some unlucky days; for here is no resemblance or notion of a sabbath amongst them. Rer Moume sent to all parts of the island, wherever he heard of a famous Umossee, to consult with him on his loss of limbs, for they are physicians. One of them, while I was here, shut him up for two months, bathing, sweating, and cupping him, but to little purpose. Nevertheless he made him ample satisfaction for his trouble, as he did all the others, or indeed every one who did him any service.

I lived with Rer Moume about two years and a half, at the end of which time news was brought that two ships were arrived at Yong-Owl, to trade. I was overjoyed at the news, and hoped William Thornbury would not forget me. But they were there several days, and slaves were sent down to be sold, and guns, and other goods brought from them. I could not tell how to break my mind to Rer Moume, hoping he would of his own accord mention something to me; but one evening, as I was sitting with him, came two men with a basket of palmetto leaves sowed up, and gave it to the prince. He opened it, and, finding a letter, asked the men what they meant by giving him that. They said, "The captain gave it us for your white man,* but we thought proper to let you see it first."

* History repeats itself. M. de D. E. V. relates how, in 1662, when he was with M. de Champmargou, Governor of Madagascar, hearing that some white men were among the natives in the interior, wrote a letter addressed;—"*To the first white man who receives this letter.*"

"Pray," says he, "give it him all. Here, Robin, your countrymen have sent you a present. I don't know what you may think of it but it seems to me of very little value." I took the basket, and found the letter, with pens, ink, and paper for me to answer it. The letter was directed to "Robert Drury, on the island of Madagascar." I was so surprised, I had not power to open it, thinking I was in a dream; but at length, recovering my senses a little, I opened it and found it was from Captain William Macket, to inform me that he had a letter on board from my father, with full instructions as well from him as his owners to procure my liberty, let it cost what it would; and if I could not come down to him myself, to send him word the reason, and which way he should take to serve me.

Rer Moume observed my countenance change while I read the letter, and asked me what was the matter. I told him the captain wanted to speak with me, and that my father had sent for me home, if he would please to give me leave to go. "How do you know this?" says the prince. "Are you a conjurer?" Then calling to the messengers asked them if they had heard any such thing. "Yes," said they, "it is in every one's mouth at the seaside that Robin's father has sent these two ships for him; and more than this, the king, your father, expects him down there, if you give him leave, and desires to see him before he goes to the ship." Rer Moume took the letter, turned it about, and upside down, saying he had often heard of these ways of conveying intelligence, but never saw it before, and could not imagine how it could be done without conjuration. I showed him as well as I could how we learned it when children; the marks first, and then put them together. "But," says he, "Robin, I suppose, you don't desire to go now you live so well here; you have cattle, and a slave, and may have more if you want them, and as many wives as you please, and be a great man." I desired he would please to make my case his own, and think whether he would not desire to see his parents and native country, had he been absent so long. He told me he did think he should, and therefore would consider of it, consult with his wives, and give an answer in the morning.

It is remarkable that the Sakalava, with whom the Arabs have traded for many centuries, should be so astonished by the conveyance of intelligence by means of letters.

I did not fail to attend him as soon as he was stirring, and seated with his wives, sitting down right before him. After he had looked on me a good while, "Robin," says he, "I have consulted with my wives here; your mother Ry Anzacker and two or three more are for your going, but most are against it. However, let them answer for themselves, it is out of love to you that they would have you continue amongst them." On which I turned toward them, and without waiting to hear them, desired, as they were mothers, they would imagine if a child of theirs was in a strange country they should not have a longing desire to see him, and he them. The prince then told me if I would stay he would treat me as he had hitherto done, like his own son, but he would do me no injustice; and if I had a mind to go he would dismiss me. "And this is my resolution: your slave you shall take with you, and as to your cattle they are yours, dispose of them as you please." I told him I did intend to come again to see him, and if he pleased not to take my cattle, which were in truth his own, he might let them remain as they were marked for mine, and that I designed to make one voyage here again, in hopes of making him some amends for the great care he had taken of me, by bringing a ship to trade with him. And in this I was in earnest and as good as my word. I asked him if he would please to demand anything of the captain for my liberty. He answered he desired nothing, but if I and my friends would make him a present of a gun, he should be obliged to them, and would call it Robin, and keep it in remembrance of me. I kneeled down, and licked his feet with great sincerity, as justly thinking I could never express gratitude enough to this generous, good prince. He would not dismiss me this day, but took care of the messengers; and I had as much reluctance in parting with my wife, and the women of his family and himself, as I had when I went from my natural parents, and they discovered as much tender affection; but he would not let us go empty, ordering an ox to be given us for our subsistence on the journey, with two of his own people to accompany the other two; and at length we set forward.

I had yet one suspicious circumstance more to go through, and that was, as we passed by Moherbo, to call on Rer Trim-

monongarevo. This gave me some uneasiness, but when we came near the town, we heard he was gone to a place within an hour's walk of the seaside. When I came before him he scrupled not to make an apology for his unhappy, choleric constitution, and owned that he had sometimes done mischief in his passion, but hoped I would excuse him for what had passed, and said he was afraid to let me go till the ship was near on sailing, lest I should spoil the trade. I told him that I had nothing to complain of, since his son had been so very good to me, and that if himself would please to dismiss me at my friend's request, they would take it kindly; but if he detained me now they know I am so near, I did not know what might be the consequence. However, he kept me this night, but in the morning dismissed me with his blessing, praying that God and the demons would protect me, and send me safe home to my native country. So I licked his feet, and took my leave of him, and of this custom too; for this was the last time I licked a black man's feet.

When I came down to the seaside, the first man who spoke to me was William Purser, the same with whom I was acquainted in Ferraingher. He came away, as others did, to live in more security and plenty; he was the interpreter for the trade. Here were several houses, but such as the English call huts, built by the inhabitants at a little distance from the factory, for the convenience of selling milk and other provisions. When I came there, I met Mr. Hill, the steward of the *Drake*, Captain Macket's ship, and two or three more of their people, who took me for a wild man. And in a letter he wrote, and sent off by a canoe to the captain, he said the wild Englishman was come. I desired William Purser to tell them that I could speak but little English, though the few days I was with Will Thornbury I regained some; yet I was at a great loss for words to speak currently for several days. Captain Macket soon came on shore, and with him Captain Bloom; for here were two ships, the *Drake* and the *Sarah*. I stared at them as if I had never seen a white man clothed before; and what added to the wildness of my appearance, I was naked except the lamber, my skin swarthy and full of freckles, my hair long and felted together, so that I really made a frightful appearance to

them; but they soon restored me to an European form. Mr. Hill cut off my hair, and ordered me to be shaved, and clothed in a neat seaman's habit, light and fit for the hot country. The captain asked me what he must give for my ransom. I told him nothing was required, only a gun for a present, to be kept in remembrance of me. He therefore picked out a handsome and very good buccaneer gun, also some powder and flints, and a case of spirits as a present to Rer Moume. He also presented his two men with knives and beads, and the messengers which went for me had a small gun. I presented the captain with my slave Anthony; he then gave me my father's letter, which he brought thus directed, and is as follows:

"*To Robert Drury on the Island of Madagascar.*

"LOUGHBOROUGH, *Feb.* 27, 1715.

"SON ROBERT DRURY,

I am informed by one Mr. Thornbury, that he left you in health on the island of Madagascar; which I was glad to hear. My very good friend Mr. Terry hath a friend, commander of a ship, the bearer hereof, that hath promised to do all he can to get you at liberty. I therefore desire you to do the captain all the service that you can in the country. And in so doing you will oblige our good friend Mr. Terry, and your ever loving father till death,

JOHN DRURY."

In two or three days after I went aboard; but the sea, and change of meat and drink, made me very sick for three or four days; after which I accompanied the two captains to Rer Trimmonongarevo, to whom they went in order to settle some circumstances relating to the trade. This being the general custom all over the island, the king of each place makes terms and settles one universal price, to which all the people are obliged to conform; and this renders trading very easy, and free from quarrels and disturbances. They presented the king with a fine gun, gilded on the barrel and japanned. I was the linguist, and notwithstanding I carried on the correspondence my dress had so altered me in these few days' time, that he

had no notion who I was, till, on inquiry who that Englishman was who spoke so well their language, he was told it was Robin.

A few days after this came messengers from Rer Moume, desiring the captains to come up the river Mernee, he having a great many slaves to sell, and being lame could not take a long journey, but would come down on the banks of that river, to a town near enough for the trade. They agreed that the *Sarah* should go, so ordering a long-boat out to sound before them, I went on board, and we sailed with an easy gale, but could find no convenient harbour or road in the mouth of Mernee, but three leagues on this side a convenient place for anchoring in a salt water river was found, from whence the two captains and myself went up in the boat a great way, till a canoe took us in and carried us to the town where Rer Moume was with his wives and people. He knew me not at first, till I kneeled and kissed his knee; and by my behaviour and thanks for his great civility they soon recollected me, and were extremely pleased to see me. Here we remained four or five days, bought all the slaves they had, and agreed to send the long-boat once a week while they stayed; and then they went on board, weighed, and returned to their former road at Yong-Owl, where there arrived that day a third ship, belonging to the same owners, called the *Mercury*, Captain White, commander. He had on board eight or nine natives of Dillagoe, in Africa, who lived very merrily. They were free men, and went with him the whole voyage, six of whom lived to be brought by him to their native country, the next voyage in which I was with him. Soon after this a ketch came in, which was fitted out on purpose to cruise off the coast, and be serviceable in several affairs. This was commanded by Captain Henry Macket, the captain's brother. There was another ship still expected, but she did not come till we were at Massalege, for they agreed now to separate for the more speedy dispatch of business. Captain Bloom had his choice, which was to go to Port Dauphine, Captain Macket to Massalege, otherwise called Munnongaro. We arrived there in a week's time, and went several leagues up a great river, called Munnonbaugher; a fisherman was our pilot, who told us the king's town was about a quarter of a day's journey up the country. The captain

asked me if I would venture to go there. I readily told him I would, and did not think there was any hazard; so going ashore with the fisherman I went forward. We had not gone far from the shore, when the fisherman told me the king was gone to war; on which I fell into a great passion, asking why he imposed on us. He said the king's wives would trade with us. I told him we did not want provision, and as for slaves it was not in their power. But the man persuaded me to go to their town, telling me there were four white men lived there, who came from the island of St. Mary's.* "Then I suppose they are robbers of ships?" said I. "No," he replied, "not now, for they have lived here some years; their names are Captain Burgess, Zachary, John Pro, and Nick." So I walked on with my gun on my shoulder, with another which the man carried. I had also knives and beads, which the captain gave me to buy provisions. I took them, though I knew how to live without buying victuals; yet I thought they would be useful for presents.

When I arrived at the town, a man ran before and informed the king's head wife, whom I shall call queen, that a ship was arrived, and one of the white men was in town coming to see her. When I came, a mat was placed ready for me to sit down on. I was no sooner seated than I heard the queen wish for one of the white men to interpret between us, and before I could speak a man ran out to seek for them; but I soon let her know that I wanted no interpreter, and delivered my message as an ambassador from the captain, saying, "I was afraid no trade could be transacted because of the king's absence."† She said that she expected him in a fortnight, and there were a great many slaves to be sold, and begged of me to induce the captain to stay. By this time came in the two white men abreast, making a formidable and hostile appearance, so I cocked

* All these slave-trading operations were conducted more or less in concert and league with the pirates. The rendezvous of the pirates was at St. Mary, an island to the south of Antongil Bay, on the east coast. Drury seems purposely to have altered the names of the pirates with whom he came in contact here, on the Betsiboka river.

† The king of Massalege was called by the pirates at this time King Dick or Long Dick.

my gun, laid the other by me, and placed myself directly before them. One was a Dutchman, named John Pro, who spoke good English. He was dressed in a short coat with broad plate buttons, and other things agreeable, but without shoes or stockings. In his sash stuck a brace of pistols, and one in his hand. The other was dressed in an English manner, with two pistols in his sash and one in his hand, like his companion. They spoke to me in English with the common compliment, which I returned, but Nick looked me earnestly in the face, and at length took hold of my hand, saying, "Robert Drury, how have you done these many years?" In short, he soon let me know his name was Nicholas Dove, and one of the four boys who were saved with me at the massacre of our ship's company in Anterndroea, and the same of whom no account could be given in the conference between Deaan Crindo and King Samuel. So I went home with them after I had finished for the present with the queen, to inform myself whether it would be worth Captain Macket's while to stay. John Pro told me it would certainly be advantageous, that there were a great number of slaves, and they wanted the trade very much, that the king, Deaan Toakoffu, was a very honest and good man, as well as a great prince, and would return in a short time, though he did not know whether it would be so soon as the queen said. They were gone to fight a king to the northward, and went all the way up the river in canoes, their whole army consisting of five or six thousand people, some of these canoes being large enough to contain twenty or thirty men apiece, with accommodations in them to make fires and dress victuals; such I had never seen anywhere else. The next morning I wrote a letter to the captain, and sent it by the fisherman, giving him a full and particular account of everything. He returned an answer, desiring me to send some men to carry him up the country to the town on their shoulders in a hammock affixed to two poles.

John Pro lived in a very handsome manner. His house was furnished with pewter dishes, &c., a standing bed with curtains, and other things of that nature except chairs, but a chest or two served for that use well enough. He had one house on purpose for his cook-room and cook-slave's lodging, storehouse,

and summer-house; all these enclosed in a palisade, as the great men's houses are in this country, for he was rich, and had many cattle and slaves. Nicholas Dove was nothing so rich. In the evening came Captain Burgess and Zachary. I soon understood that these were the sloop's crew to which Arnold and Eglasse the Dutchman belonged, and therefore gave them an account of their fate in Feraingher.

Nicholas Dove gave me a more particular account of them and himself, which was in substance that he ran away and got to Port Dauphine, where, after remaining about two years, he got in a large canoe to Mattatanna Road, and there entered on board a pirate, who used to cruise principally among the Moors, from whom they several times took great riches, and used to carry it to St. Mary's. This place they made their settlement and general rendezvous, there being a good harbour. It is a small island, but three leagues from Madagascar in the latitude of 16° 30′ south; but their ship growing old and crazy, and none of the Moors' ships they had taken being fit for their business, they being also vastly rich, they removed to Madagascar, made one Thomas Collins, a carpenter, their governor, and built a small fort, defending it with their ship's guns; but here they lived most dissolute and wicked lives, stealing away and ravishing the wives and daughters of the natives, living by this means in a state of continual war. I could not forbear remarking here that it was not an unjustifiable act in Deaan Mernaugha to order Eglasse to be killed for threatening him, he having, no doubt, by some of their own slaves and other means, a competent knowledge to what a wicked crew of wretches he once belonged. Nicholas Dove said they had lived without going out pirating for nine years, contenting themselves with building a sloop by the help of this governor, and soon after left him and others and came here, where they had been ever since. By him I understood that Mr. Bembo got to England, but Captain Drummond * never got off the

* "This Captain Drummond is the same I have before mentioned as commander of the *Rising Sun*, a ship belonging to the Scots East India company; he came to trade at Madagascar, and while his ship lay at anchor, she was surprised by a pirate, who suffered the captain, with his friend Captain Stewart, and a few hands, to go ashore in the

island, he being killed, though the particular manner and occasion he could not inform me. But they told me one remarkable piece of news, for the truth of which I must refer my readers to further inquiry. They said that this Captain Drummond was the very same man for whose murder and his crews one Captain Green, commander of an East India ship, was hanged in Scotland. All I know of the case I have in a proper place related, and can only say that the time, the name, and the circumstances of his being here, where no news of him could be had for several years, give room for the supposition. But to return to my history.

The queen sent me a calf for a present, and I gave her knives and beads in my own name. I went to the shore, accompanied by John Pro, to welcome the captain, and attend him to the town. Mr. Strahan, his surgeon, was with him. The queen entertained them as elegantly as she knew how to do, and mutual presents passed.

We returned that evening to the ship, and the next day built a house for to carry on the trade in. The natives seeing our resolution to stay, they built several others near it, to serve us with rice, milk, fruits, and other necessaries. I went often up to town to hear news, but it was a month before the people came back from the wars; they came down the river in canoes, having had good success. At length the king arrived

long-boat, in the territories of the same prince who made Mr. Benbow prisoner. It was for the supposed murder of this Captain Drummond, that one Captain Green, a very honest English gentleman, his mate, Mr. Mather, and several other persons were executed in Scotland, on the testimony of a black, and more would have been executed but for the care of the late worthy duke of Argyle, who interposed out of pure generosity, and procured their pardons. I remember (Dr. J. Campbell) while a boy to have seen this Captain Green's original Journal in the custody of a merchant in Edinburgh, who did him all the service in his power, at the hazard of his own life; from which Journal it appeared that they only met with Captain Drummond at sea, as they were homeward bound, on board whose ship Captain Green dined, and received from him a present of a Bible, which was made use of to corroborate the black's evidence, who from a wicked spirit of revenge perjured himself that he might murder his master" (Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*).

with the corpse of his brother, who was killed in the fight. He put off his burial for a fortnight, till he had settled affairs with us, and also given audience to his brother's ambassadors, who were waiting for him.

Captain Macket hearing of his return, came up to town again well attended, with his trumpeters sounding before him. They went to John Pro's house, while I waited on the king. We had some very familiar conversation, he having often heard of me, in the end of which he told me he desired the captain's patience till he had sent for his people about him, and put himself in handsome order to receive him, and would then send, which in about two hours' time he did. And then all we white men, as well as Captain Burgess and the rest of those who came with us, marched in order two abreast, the trumpeter sounding before the captain, with a crowd of black mob after us, the shells blowing and drums beating in the king's palisade, to compliment him. Deaan Toakoffu, who knew how to treat white men, had ordered two stools for the captain and surgeon to sit on. After the usual compliments of "Salamonger umbay" reciprocally had passed, I being interpreter, we settled the manner of trade, and then the captain made presents of a gun or two, &c., and the king presented him with a slave, &c. He also gave me a girl of twelve years old, which I sold immediately to John Pro. The captain was for taking his leave this afternoon, but the king desired him to stay till the next day, that he might make his court look grand when he received the ambassadors, which the captain complied with, and we were accordingly the next day seated in order when the ambassadors came with a great retinue, making just such an entrance as Rer Vove did before his grandfather when he returned from war, a great number of men advancing, capering, and firing their guns, then retreating, and others advancing in their places and doing the same. When the principal ambassador approached, he kneeled on one knee and licked the king's knee, saying, "Tyhew an Deaan Unghorra en Zaftana Lohefute," which in English is, "The supreme God bless the progeny of Deaan Lohefute." Others came after the same manner repeating the words also. No business was now talked of, the remainder of the day being spent in compliments and drinking

toak; but our captain took his leave and returned to the ship, hastening to despatch the affairs of trade. The next day they began to send down slaves to sell. Captain Macket fitted up Burgess's sloop, and sent her to fetch the ketch from Yong-Owl, during which time arrived the *Henry*, Captain Harvey, a ship of five hundred tons burden. While we remained here Deaan Toakoffu's brother was buried, and all the men in the country shaved off their hair, which is the manner of their mourning all over the island. Every man under the jurisdiction of a king or lord who does not do this is accounted disaffected. Among private persons only those of their own friends and relations do it.

It was about the middle of October when we arrived here, and the 24th of November before the king came home, but by the beginning of January we had bought more than our cargo of slaves, leaving some with the *Henry*, who remained after us. We sailed from the river Munnonbaugher in Munnongaro, *alias* Massalege, and arrived at Yong-Owl, where Captain White* was then trading, not having yet got his complement of slaves. On the 20th of January we departed from thence, and I bid farewell to the island of Madagascar.

We did not touch at the Cape of Good Hope, but at St. Helena, where I went ashore and took care of some of our slaves who were sick. From thence we went to Barbadoes, arriving there the 22nd of April, where we stayed a week, then weighed and sailed to Jamaica, where we delivered our cargo of slaves. The captain not only took a fatherly care of me on board, but also supplied me with money at every place we came to, though I scarce knew the use of it, committing several mistakes, which were the subject of laughter and merriment. As for liquors I could relish none heartily since I had lost toak, which I had been so long used to. I was taken sick here, which was very chargeable, but the captain sent me ashore, and took care that I wanted for nothing. While we were here came in the *Mercury*, Captain White, from Madagascar, but we were ready to sail with a fleet under convoy of the *Winchelsea*, a forty gun ship. We departed from Jamaica the 5th of July, beating through the windward passage. Under the Crooked

* This Captain White was subsequently a pirate. See Introduction.

Islands we saw two sloops, which the *Winchelsea* endeavoured to speak with, and suspecting them to be pirates, struck his pendant, and appeared like a merchant ship, which deceived them so that the biggest sloop gave chase, hoisting a black ensign and Jack, but on a sudden thought proper to alter her course, and stand in for the land again. The man-of-war could not follow her, but our captain, whose ship was a good sailer and mounted sixteen guns, followed him and exchanged several broadsides. He stood close under the land, and night coming on got away from us, and had the impudence to rob two of the sternmost ships in the fleet, and to threaten that if ever they could meet with Captain Macket again, they would tie him to his mainmast and burn him in his ship.

A few days after this we had the misfortune to run foul of the *Winchelsea*, stem for stem, she tacking unexpectedly staved our bow to the water's edge, and carried away our foremast. The man-of-war lost his head and spritsailyard. Had the sea been rough we must have been lost, but by good providence it was fair weather; so by the help of the *Winchelsea's* people and others we stopped out the water, but were forced to go back to the Crooked Islands, they accompanying us, where, by the assistance of them and other ships, the breach was made up, and we fitted for sea again, proceeding on our voyage, and on Saturday, September 9, 1717, we arrived in the Downs, after I had been absent sixteen years and about nine months. Here by the captain's advice I went ashore, he taking care to supply me with what was requisite for my journey to London, though I did not set forward till I had returned God thanks for my safe arrival to my native country, and for my deliverance from the imminent dangers I had been in, and from the miseries I had gone through.

It may not be improper here to inform my readers by what a strange providence my father came to know of my being alive in Madagascar, for my brother being at the "Crown" alehouse at Cherry Garden Stairs, Rotherhithe, drinking in the next box to William Thornbury, and hearing him talk of that island to his friend, said, "He had a brother cast away there several years before, and would be glad to hear of him." Thornbury replied, "He had never seen but one white man on

the island, and had forgot his name." Hereupon my brother mentioned several names before that of Robert Drury, which Thornbury no sooner heard but said, "That was the name, and that his father lived at the 'King's Head' in the Old Jury."

When I came to London (it being Sunday, about three o'clock in the afternoon), I thought it not proper to go directly in sermon time to the "King's Head" in the Old Jury, the house my father had lived in before he retired into the country, but went to the "Bell" alehouse (now the British coffee-house) at the lower end, and desired to come in, saying I was but just come on shore. The master of the house seeing me in a sea-habit, and hearing my broken English, took me to be a foreigner, and admitted me in, asking me what countryman I was, and from whence I came. I told him an Englishman, which he would scarce credit till he knew who I was, and which he soon guessed by the questions I asked, as "Who kept the 'King's Head'? Whether John Drury did not keep it formerly?" He told me that John Drury went into the country to live there, and left it to his brother William, whose widow keeps it now; and has since his death been married to another man, and is now a widow again. "How?" said I. "Is William Drury dead?" "Yes," answered he; "and John Drury his brother too, about a year past." This news so surprised me and filled me with grief that I could not refrain from weeping bitterly and lamenting my sad misfortune. By this he perceived who I was, having heard of my being many years abroad, and my friends expecting me very soon in England, by letters I had sent from Jamaica to the "King's Head." Hereupon he asked me if my name was Drury. I answered, "I was the same unfortunate person who have been so many years, and am likely to continue so, since my father is dead." He also told me, as an addition to my sorrow, my mother died with grief not long after she heard of our shipwreck, and that my father had married again. After sermon I went to the "King's Head," where they soon discovered who I was, and were surprised with joy to see me, and there I had a full account of our family affairs, and that my father had left me £200, also the reversion of a house at Stoke Newington, now in the occupation of Mr. Richard

Beardsley. I stayed in town till I had seen those few friends I remembered, and then went to Loughborough to my sister and other relations, who were glad to see me after they thought I had been lost so many years before.

When I had settled my affairs I returned to London, Captain Macket continuing still his tenderness to me, and said he would take care of me if other things failed, asking me to go with him to Madagascar again; but I had then agreed to live with a relation as clerk or book-keeper. After Captain Macket was gone, and things did not answer my expectation, Captain White, Captain Macket's friend, being bound thither also, I agreed to go the voyage with him. My business was to assist in the trade which my knowledge of the language and customs of the country had qualified me for. So after leaving my effects in a friend's hands (except what I thought proper to take with me) I went on board the *Mercury*, and we weighed from the Downs September 13, 1718.

ROBERT DRURY'S AFTER-VOYAGE TO MADAGASCAR.

When I was a boy I had learned the art of navigation in our voyage to India, though I had lost it again for want of use, yet applying myself to one who understood it for further instruction I soon recovered enough to enable me to keep a journal and give such an account of this voyage as may be useful to those who are not acquainted with the island.

On the first of April, 1719, we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where we bought such provisions as we wanted, and on the 10th we sailed for Natal; on the 29th we saw the land, in the latitude of 29° 10′ south, to the northward of Natal, distance about eleven leagues. We sailed along shore, a W.S.W. course, with a gentle breeze; at noon the point of Natal bore S.W. by W., distant two leagues; at two o'clock in the afternoon we came to an anchor in 14-fathom water, within two miles of the point of Natal, it bearing W.S.W., the current sets S.S.W. and N.N.E. Here we traded for slaves, with large brass rings, or rather collars, and other things. We bought in a fortnight's time seventy-four boys and girls. These are better slaves for working than those of Madagascar, being stronger, also blacker.

Captain White put on shore here six natives of Dillagoe, which he took with him the former voyage. They had two or three kings' dominions to go through before they came to their own country, and were in some fear they might be intercepted. The captain gave them guns, ammunition, hatchets, and brass collars. I saw here some of the humped cattle, like those in Madagascar; but the people have short woolly hair, like Guinea negroes, and nothing like Madagascar people.

On June the 7th we made the land on the east side of Madagascar; I went up to the masthead, where, seeing high land to the southward, I concluded we were to the northward of Port Dauphine; the captain not depending on what I said, hoisted out the boat, and the second mate and I went in her toward the shore, to speak with any of the natives we might happen on. We rowed along shore a good while, till I espied a little town, and some of the people looking on us; but the sea broke so much, three or four hundred yards from the shore, that we durst not venture in the boat, which obliged me to pull off my clothes and swim. Two of the natives observing me, swam to assist me; they walked with me to a point, a mile farther, where they go off with their canoes. Here the boat came in, and I persuaded one of the fishermen to go with us. This place is called Murnumbo,* about ten or eleven leagues to the northward of Port Dauphine. We perceived here a great current and swell against us. The next day, in the evening, we came to an anchor in 14-fathom water, not being able to get into the bay. The ruins of the fort bore W.S.W. of us, Cape Ramus S.W. by S., the point of the Seven Virgins or Seven Hammocks bore east. The next morning we weighed, stood into the bay, and anchored in 3-fathom water; the French fort bore S.E. by E., the ruins of the church S.S.E.; we were within a cable's length of the shore, on either side almost land-locked. Notwithstanding which, it is always best to keep a good anchor and cable without, here being sometimes a strong N.E. wind.

Port Dauphine is in the latitude of 24° 50′ south. The bay which you must sail into is on the east side of the point; you must take care of a rock on your starboard side. Your course

* Mt. Manombo and village of Manombaorivo, probably

to steer is W.N.W. when you are in, you will see the ruins of a fort on a hill, called the Nose of the Port; keep close to this point till you open the bay, and when the fort bears S.E. by E. or E.S.E. you may come to an anchor, and, if you please, moor your ship to the rocks. There is a false bay two miles to the southward which may deceive strangers, therefore care must be taken, for it is a rocky place.

I went on shore immediately to the king's brother's town, and told him that we came to trade, but were in haste to be gone again; therefore he must dispatch the slaves down if they had any to sell. And this must always be principally regarded to hasten them, and make them think you are ready to go away; for they have no notion of the expense of the merchants in paying men and keeping them. He immediately sent messengers to the king, who dispatched away an Irishman, who lived with him, and had run away from Captain Ware. He told us the king would be with us the next day, and he accordingly came. His name was Deaan Morroughsevea; he was dressed in a coat and breeches, with a hat on. The first day was spent in compliments and making presents. The next day the price was settled, and we built a factory, and palisaded it round. The king returned, but we stayed here till the 19th of July. When the captain sent me up the country with presents to the king, I stripped off my clothes and dressed like a native with a lance in my hand: I think it was not less than twenty miles. When I came there the king was just going to dinner with salt fish, rice, and roast beef. He desired me to sit down and eat with him, saying white men and he were all one, only he did not love the French. They killed his grandfather, and carried an uncle away captive. After dinner he treated me with toak, and a dram of brandy, and then praying to God for the captain's success, dismissed me with some presents, desiring we would return as soon as possible; for he was going to war with Unter Morrow Cherock to the northward in the mountains, and hoped to have more slaves for us.

When I came on board, which was the 20th, we weighed, leaving behind four men and the Natal slaves. We bought here one hundred and thirty, which we took on board, and sailed to Mattatanna Road; and on the 26th of July we made

the Thrumb-Cap off Mattatanna, and came to an anchor one league distance. Here is no going on shore in our boats for a great bar, and the sea always breaking on it; but the canoes came off, with whom I went on shore, and after that a great way up the river to the king's town. One ran before and told him the captain's ambassador was coming. So he put himself in order and appeared in great state. He bid me welcome in English, he speaking it very well, also French, and so do likewise some others of his family. Captain Macket had been here before us and bought three hundred and thirty slaves in twenty days, which made him endeavour to raise the price; but I soon let him understand that I knew the country, and that if they had none to sell us I knew where to go. In the end we agreed, and I sent the captain a letter of what I had done; for it is so dangerous going over the breakers, that I did not care how seldom I went. I did not very well like the place, for they were embarrassed with a neighbouring enemy; so that they were ever on their guard, and could not sleep in safety, nor get provisions, the country being in much the same condition which Ferainghcr was when I lived there. Notwithstanding this, the captain was obstinate, and sent me a cargo on shore and a man to assist me, sailing away to Don Mascareen,* an island so called, belonging to the French about one hundred leagues to the eastward.

When the ship was gone, I removed my factory up the river to the king's town, for more safety. I very often lent the natives some guns and ammunition to repulse their enemies, and once went with them. The first three days I bought fourteen slaves, and finding provisions dear I went more cunningly to work, agreeing for the slaves they offered to sell, and leaving something in their hands, but would not finish the bargain. I had here a knavish trick put upon me, which I

* *Don Mascareen*, or the Ile Mascareigne, named Bourbon by Flacourt in 1654, and now known as Réunion. At this period M. Joseph Beauvollier was Governor. He had succeeded M. Henry Justamond, who administered the Government as Commandant during the absence of M. de Parat, who had gone to Europe with the important news that wild coffee had been discovered in Bourbon, and that Mocha coffee could be grown there profitably.

relate that others may beware of it. One night, in spite of all my care, two women slaves were missing; they were fastened by the arms together. I went to the king and complained, who pretended he knew nothing of it, and ordered search to be made for them; but in vain till I published a reward of six pounds of gunpowder to whomsoever would restore them. The man who sold them to me brought them again, pretending he had discovered where they hid themselves, and demanded the reward. I charged him with knavery, but not being able then to prove my assertion, he complained to the king, who threatened me if I did not give the man the six pounds of powder. I returned his threats in hot words, offering to defend myself with my firearms, six of which I had ready loaded by me. Before the next morning, by threats and flatteries, the women confessed their former master had done it, and misused them when he had them again. I went directly to the king's brother, telling him I would take care no white men should ever come to trade there again. But in the end he desired I would go and speak to the king first; which I did not refuse. He reconciled us before our ship returned, which was not till about the middle of September, and then without Captain White,* he being dead and buried at Don Mascareen. His business there was to sell some slaves to the French, and buy more for the West India cargo, but there happened to be no demand for any.

Captain Christal, now commander, sent one of his officers to assure me of the same civil usage and friendship which I might have expected from his predecessor; he approved of my

* "*Cependant on voit encore, en* 1719, *que le capitaine forban White qui était en relâche à Bourbon, y mourait et y était enterré.*" This extract from Maillard's *Documents Historiques de l'Ile de la Réunion*, p. 335, seems to identify Drury's Captain White with the pirate captain of the Indian Ocean unmistakably. It seems that the line between slave-trading and piracy was very indistinct. If this is so, there is no doubt of Drury's intimacy with the piratical horde which was the curse of the Indian Ocean in those days. Captain White was probably seized by the French, who had but lately ceased to trade with the pirates on account of the complaint made by the English Government at the request of the East India Company. It is a suspicious circumstance that Drury, part owner of the ship's cargo, should require reassurance of Captain White's successor.

VIEW OF AN EAST COAST VILLAGE.

conduct, and I perfected the bargains I had begun and brought aboard my slaves.

Mattatanna * is in the latitude 22° 15′ south, a wild coast, and no going ashore at any time in the year for our boats; these slaves and those of Port Dauphine are accounted the best in the island. Before we went from hence I was informed that Deaan Morroughsevea of Port Dauphine was killed in the expedition he went on when I left him. Before I give an account of the remainder of this voyage, being now on the east side of the island, I shall say somewhat of the principal places on this side.

To the northward of Mattatanna about seven leagues is Malancaro. Here is a river with eight feet of water on the bar. This river divides the kingdom of Mattatanna from that of Trounghe, the people of which last are very civil and numerous, but cannot trade for want of canoes. About ten leagues from the country of Trounghe is Maninzaroe; † these would gladly trade with the English, but having no canoes, and it being a wild shore where we cannot land with our boats, they are prevented. About twenty leagues further to the northward is Mungaro. They have continual war with the inhabitants of Port St. Mary's and the pirates; this king's name is Maulaunza. They have no canoes, and if the captain would take canoes with him from Mattatanna, they would be glad to trade. St. Mary's is an island three leagues off the main, in latitude 16° 30′, having a very good harbour. Here are about twenty white men who have been pirates, and now live there among the natives on their ill-gotten wealth.

Antogeal is in the latitude of 16° 15′. Here is a clear deep

* *Matitanana* R. in 22° 24′ lat., at the north of which is the islet de Zafi Raminia of Flacourt. *Malancaro* is the Manakaro river, and the *Trounghe* of Drury are the *Manakarongha* of Flacourt; perhaps the Antambahoka of the present day. (See Grandidier's *Géographie*.)

† *Maninzaroe* is Mananjara, northward of which is the large Mangoro river in 20° S. Lat., now inhabited by the Antatsimo tribe of the Betsimisaraka. The island of St. Mary or Nosy Boraha extends from 16° 4′ to 17° 6′ Lat. S.; for a long time this was the resort of Captain Avery and Plantain, the celebrated Jamaica pirate. Antongil Bay is where the Dutch built Fort Spakembourg, and the island Marosse, at the head of it, is in 15° 29′. (See Trelawney's Adventures.)

bay, keep the north shore on board. At the bottom of this bay is a small island of two or three miles round, in which is a good harbour. The Dutch had once a fort on it. Here are grampusses and whales which the natives have the art of taking. Barimbass is in latitude 15° 0′. They have canoes, and will come off as soon as they see a ship. The king is very civil to white men, and delights in trading with them.

Our present business was to go to Port Dauphine, where we heard a confirmation of the death of their king, and found the country in confusion and in no condition for trading. So we took on board our men, slaves and goods, and proceeded round the southernmost end of the island.

The next adjoining country to Port Dauphine, or Antenosa, is Anterndroea, where the *Degrave* was wrecked, and which was the scene of my slavery. Joining to this is Merfaughla, a little to the southward, in the latitude of 26° south. There is no trading in either of these countries for want of canoes. The next port is St. Augustine Bay, in which is a fresh water river, with twelve feet of water in it at spring tides; it flows S.S.E. and N.N.W. Seven leagues to the northward is Tulea, which is a good harbour, and well described in the Waggoner.*

As you sail from St. Augustine Bay to Yong-Owl there are several small islands. The first are two in the latitude of 21° 0′, four or five leagues distant from the main island. A little further is a single island with high trees on it, and still further to the northward you see three sandy islands; there are

* *Waggoner.* The old sailing directions; Pilots and Neptunes were commonly called Waggoners by the Buccaneers, so called from the popular sailing charts and directions compiled by one Lucas Wagenaer, who published, in Amsterdam, "*Le nouveau miroir des voiages marines de la navigation de la Mer Occidentale et Orientale,*" 1605, and other similar works.

Most of this information is evidently derived from some *Waggoner.* For example, John Thornton, a celebrated Hydrographer, had published in 1703, twenty-five years before this was written, his third book of the English Pilot, describing the sea-coasts, capes, headlands, straits, ports in the Oriental Navigation, at London. In this folio volume is given a good map of Madagascar, which is possibly the identical work from which Drury's Editor obtained many of his details. It is certainly not a book that Defoe would have been ignorant of.

breakers between them. A north-east course carries you clear, and along shore; but keep in 15, 16, or 17-fathom water. On the banks is 9, 10, or 12-fathom water. When you are past the sandy islands the coast is clear to Yong-Owl. This is an open road in the latitude of 20° 20′. There is good anchoring in 16-fathom water within a mile of the shore. On all this coast there is no high land near the shore, but you may see mountains up the country. Munnonbaugher * is a river called in their language also Manzerroy, in which is 14 or 15-fathom water. On spring-tides it flows east and west twelve feet right up and down; you go up the river six or seven leagues to the usual place where they trade. A little to the southward of this is another river called Luna, † to which the Arab's ship comes once a year. This place is otherwise called Massalege, or the country of Munnongaro, where Deaan Toke-Offu is king, and of which I have already given an account.

Our business now was at Yong-Owl, where we arrived on the 16th of October; the captain accompanied me up the country to Moherbo, and took our musicians with us. I heard as soon as I came on shore that Rer Trimmonongarevo was dead, and Rer Moume had the dominion, and lived at Moherbo. I sent a messenger before to let him know that I was coming to wait on him, and had brought a ship to trade here according to my word. But when we came to a town just on this side Moherbo, we saw a great number of people pulling down a wooden house in which Rer Trimmonongarevo was buried, the reason whereof, as I learned from the natives, is as follows: "That Rer Trimmonongarevo had appeared to Rer Moume in the night and asked him why he put him above his father Lohefutee. And he seemed very angry with his son for so doing, and ordered his corpse to be taken up and put lower than his father's, and likewise his house (built for a tomb) to be made lower, and not erected above his father's." Notwithstanding this notice, when I came to Rer Moume he did not

* Manongarivo R., in Lat. 14° 2′, runs into Raminotoka Bay.

† Inverarity (1803) mentions a place called Luza, to the south of above, in Narinda Bay. Otherwise Munnonbaugher is possibly represented by the modern river Mahajamba, which better accords with Old Massalege of piratical fame.

know me, I was so altered by my habit for I could not forbear; but I soon let him understand who I was, to lick his knee. His former most generous and humane behaviour to me made me esteem him as my father, and he was no less rejoiced to see me. His wives also expressed their pleasure. I went to see my cattle, for he had kept them for me as he promised, and they being now increased I marked the young ones with my mark, for he persists in it that they shall remain mine.

In ten weeks' time we got our whole complement of slaves here, and sailed from hence January 7th. We touched at St. Helena and at Barbadoes; from thence to Rappahanack river in Virginia, where we sold our slaves, took in tobacco, and sailed for England. We arrived in the Downs the 11th day of September 1720.

Thus I have endeavoured to give an account of what has been in my power to remark of this island. I have read the "Atlas Geographicus,"* and suppose it to be a collection of all that has been wrote of this island. And notwithstanding I find some things there mentioned of which I give no account, I see no reason to depart from anything herein contained, nor to add anything to it; I relate only what I saw, and knew myself. I have not mentioned the scorpion, † which is a very

**Atlas Geographicus;* or, a Compleat System of Geography, Ancient and Modern. With Maps by Moll, Sanson's Tables, &c., 5 vols. 1711-1717. The title-page of this quaint old Geography bears the figure of Queen Anne seated on her throne in front of Atlas upholding the world, with the following verses:

> Securæ fas est indulgere quieti
> Et licet humanis rebus abesse Jovi:
> Indefessus Atlas cælorum sustinet Orbes
> Tellurisque regit pervigil ANNA globum.

> Let various Realms in various Tongues no more
> Astræa's flight and their own loss deplore:
> To Britain's Isle withdrawn the Goddess reigns,
> And, awfull with her Scales, ye Charge of Earth sustains.

† "Proceed we next to Serpents and other Vermine, among which we shall put in the first place Scorpions, there generally call'd *Hall*, of which there are divers kinds, as the *Tsingalaha*, &c." (*Ogilby*).

troublesome insect; other venomous creatures I never saw nor knew. As to what is there said, that the natives are Mahometans, I have read since I came to England some account of the Mahometan religion, but can find no resemblance in it to this of Madagascar; on the contrary, Mahomet pretended to talk with God, but these people will not hear with patience that any one ever conversed with Deaan Unghorray, the supreme god. But I have omitted to take notice of one custom, which is their abstaining from their women at certain times as the Jews do. The Virzimbers, whom some think to be the first inhabitants of this island, I have said do differ in religion, but this is to be understood in forms and manner of worship and ceremonies, for they have Owleys as the others have, and the same notions of a supreme god, the lords of the four corners of the world, spirits, &c.

I am every day to be spoken with at Old Tom's Coffee-house in Birchin Lane,* where I shall be ready to gratify any gentleman with a further account of anything herein contained, to stand the strictest examination, or to confirm those things which to some may seem doubtful.

ROBERT DRURY.

* At the end of the edition published in 1750, the following note is substituted for the above:—

"N. B.—The Author (for some Years before his Death) was to be spoken with every Day at *Old Tom's* Coffee-house in *Birchin Lane;* at which Place several inquisitive Gentlemen have receiv'd from his own Mouth the Confirmation of those Particulars which seem'd dubious, or carried with them the least Air of a ROMANCE."

From this it appears that Robert Drury must have died between the years 1743 and 1750. Considering that Robert Drury appears to have realized a considerable amount of money by his "*ill-gotten*" profits on trading for slaves, it is curious to find him, nine years afterwards, reduced to the low place of a common porter at the India House. Where was this interval spent? Another piratical adventure may have landed him in prison; at all events he was evidently considered unfit for a station of trust; and his gains acquired by "*knavish tricks*" having been spent or lost, he had fallen from a position of part owner and ship's supercargo to that of a mean servitor.

APPENDIX.

"India Office, S.W.,
"January 26, 1885.

"Sir,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th December, 1884, making certain inquiries regarding 'Robert Drury's Journal,' and some of the vessels named therein.

"In reply I am to state that, in the opinion of Dr. Rost, the Librarian to this Office, the names of people, places, &c., given throughout Robert Drury's narrative and in his Vocabulary represent, with very few exceptions, true and genuine Malagasy words, which could neither have been forged nor taken from the few vocabularies (French, Dutch, and German) previously published. This would appear to indicate that Drury really visited Madagascar, as he states.

"With regard to the ships, &c., named by him, it should be borne in mind that prior to 1702 there existed two East India Companies—the Old or London Company, and the New English Company. The former had no such ship as the *De Grave*, nor any commander named Young or Younge, but the New Company had the *De Grave* as one of the first three vessels they sent to India. The United Company had no vessel named *Drake* prior to 1721, in which year a vessel of that name sailed, on 17th June, from Portsmouth, under Commander W. Whitaker, for St. Helena * and Bencoolen, returning home on 8th June, 1723. The first commander, named William Mackett, employed by the United Company, commanded the *Nightingale* on a voyage to Fort St. George, 1721–3. The United Company had no vessel *Sarah*, nor a Commander Bloom in their service, but, prior to the amalgamation in 1702, there was a ship *Sarah* in the employ of the New or English Company. There was no *Prince of Wales* in the employ of the United Company, but the *Princess of Wales*, commanded by Captain

* It is noteworthy that a part of the eastern table-land or plateau and headland of St. Helena is called "Bencoolen," indicating the former connection between St. Helena and the East India trade.—S. P. O.

Wm. Mackett, is probably the ship meant. The United Company had neither a *Mercury* nor a *Henry* in their service, neither had they a Commander White or Harvey, but a *Mercury* and a *Henry* sailed for the East Indies in 1715 and 1716 respectively, and it is possible that these vessels may have been specially licensed by the East India Company.

"The Admiralty can probably give you any information you require regarding the H.M.S. *Winchelsea* mentioned by Robert Drury. With regard to the alleged trading in slaves by the *Mercury*, I may state that the East India Company's ships never traded in slaves. They occasionally called at the West India Islands on the outward or the return voyage, but never for slaving purposes.

"I am to add that there is no copy of the first edition of 'Robert Drury's Journal' in the Library of this Office.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"G. C. DANVERS,

"*Registrar and Superintendent of Records.*

"Captain S. P. Oliver."

DRURY'S "VOCABULARY OF THE MADAGASCAR LANGUAGE," WITH NOTES,*

BY THE REV. J. RICHARDSON, L.M.S., Compiler of the standard Malagasy-English Dictionary.

AFTER I had been in Betsileo for a year I began to think that the language there spoken originally, while perhaps springing from a common stock, was totally different from that spoken by the Hovas; and this arose from my meeting with many words in common use among the Betsileo that were (1) not to be found in the dictionaries; and also from (2) the ignorance among the Betsileo of many common Hova words; and (3) many common Hova words having quite a different signification in Betsileo; *e.g.*,

(1) *maina* for maizina; *mariny* for akaiky.

(2) *habakabaka*, mangòakòa (B †); *kintana*, fajíry (B); *varavarankely*, hoaka (B); *sahiratsy*, langèza (B); *rovitra*, ròta (B); *ranjo*, voavitsy (B).

(3) *matávy* meaning matsatso
mèloka ,, tezitra
Hova ,, andriana
nàma-lùhy ,, sakaiza
ràha ,, zavatra
as *mahay raha*=mahay zavatra.

* *Antananarivo Annual* for 1875. † B is used for Betsileo.

The never recurring *tra* in finals, but always *tsa*, and the very distinct nasal *n*, also strengthened me in my opinion. I thought that intercourse with the Hovas had forced them to change their language.

I changed my opinion, however, before I left; and the perusal of Robert Drury's book, but more especially the Vocabulary, has quite convinced me that the language has really been one all over the island. All, I think, are dialects springing from one common stock.

I do not know that I have read anything about Madagascar that has given me such pleasure, and has set me off thinking so much, as has this Vocabulary of Drury's. Many of the words are there just as the Betsileo would speak them to this day; *vide*

Lànitra,	sky
Mànita,	sweet
Vòsitra,	ox
Oratròny,	to-day

and some words in his Vocabulary would not be known to those who have not been out of Imerina, but which are common in Betsileo; see *leg*, *knife*, *hearken*, &c.

It will be easily perceived that allowing for the dialectical influences and the English spelling, the large majority of Drury's words are Hova now: and as they were *written* in England 150 years ago they could not have been learned from the Hovas.

If one's work would only allow it, what pleasure it would yield to make a circuit of the island, go among all the coastal tribes, east and west, and compare their peculiarities!

In going through this Vocabulary, I have come to the conclusion that Drury himself did not write it; in fact *could not; but that it was written from dictation.*

Drury was only 14 years of age when he left England. From his eleventh year he had desired to go to sea, and thus being restless, it is likely he would not be well educated. Then he was 14 years in captivity, and associated only with sailors for another 14 years or so before his Adventures were written. Thus we might call him an *uneducated* man. The Vocabulary, however, is written with care and we can see evidence of method and rule in all the words. Let us remember, *too, that he was a cockney;* hence that ever recurring "*r*"; vide *merheeter*, *henar*, &c. (mahita, hena); as also the "*w*" in such words as "voa," which he puts "*woer.*" What scribe would think he would carry his cockneyisms into another language? Hence, writing as he, Drury, spoke, we have all the "*rs*" and "*ws*" carefully written down, as also the phonetic sound of the Malagasy "*e*," as in day, may; see *great.* It is very likely *he had not a good ear*, and this will also account for some blunders. Seeing also that he was a captive always thinking of escape, he would not apply himself to the

study of the language; and many of us have met with people who have been for years in a foreign country, yet have no *intelligent* acquaintance with the language. Let it be remembered, too, that the Betsileo and all (?) the coastal tribes have a strong *nasal* "n." Were I writing in English character the word "*anay*" as pronounced by the Betsileo I should certainly write it "aangigh."

L is very frequently used for *d* among the Sakalava: see *buy*, *small*, *wife*, &c.

Then, again, the Betsileo never say *tra*, but a kind of *tsa*; *mianatsa*, &c., &c., and which Drury represents by *ch*, or *tch*.

I found, too, that the Betsileo, Sakalava, and other tribes very frequently drop the final *na*, *ka*, *tra*; and also use them interchangeably; *e.g.*, *fasika*, for *fasina*; *olo* for *olona*, &c.; and as those finals are so often left out by Drury, does it not confirm what some of us have been thinking of for a few years past, that all roots were originally monosyllabic or dissyllabic, and that the *na*, *ka*, and *tra* are accretions?

I can quite imagine Drury being taken into some quiet study, or perhaps relating before a select company in his father's coffee-house; and as his amanuensis asks him these words one by one, as: "Now what is the word for 'red'?" he would at once say "*maner*"; and down goes a phonetic English representation of exactly what he said. They would come to the word *side*. "Now what is the word for 'side'?" He would say: "Which? side of a thing, or side, ribs?" "Side, ribs," says his interrogator. "Oh," says Drury, putting his hand on his side, *Tehezako*, not pronouncing his final "o" very distinctly—and down goes *tehezac*, pronominal suffix as well as the noun. I can fancy the same in *He tucko*, for *hitako*, &c. And again, his untrained ear would prevent him from detecting the "*r*" in *andriana*, and he would very likely pronounce it *dian*, and down goes *dea*, English as in sea, flea, &c., and another "*an*" to make up *dri an*: doubtless the word stands for *andriana*.

As I have said, I have been intensely interested in this book and Vocabulary, and as it is so ancient for *Malagasy* literature (150 years), I thought it well just to draw up these few introductory pages while the matter was fresh in my mind, to stimulate us to more research into the Malagasy language.

The modern written language of the Malagasy was, generally speaking, fashioned by the Missionaries from the days of the Portuguese discoverers and the French settlers to the time of Radama. M. Barthélemi Huet, Chevalier de Froberville first published a complete Malagasy Dictionary, about 1815; but it is to Messrs. Jones and Griffiths, Freeman and Kitching, that the English and Malagasy Dictionary, of 1835, owes its existence.—S. P. O.

A VOCABULARY OF THE MADAGASCAR LANGUAGE.

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
A.		
All	earbe	aby (B), abi (R) **
alive	valu	velona
ants	vetick *	vitsika [S. P. O.
arm	vorecka	(*vorika*=a *ch*arm !) —
ask	munganton	mangataka
aunt	l'rorvovvaranuke	rahavavy anaka (?)
above	ambunna	ambony
adding	tovoungay †	tovony
adorn	merervaugher ‡	miravaha
advise	mearnorro	mianara
afar off	larvitch	lavitra
afraid	mertorhocks	matahotra
after	afarrong	afara
aged	antitchs	antitra [S. P. O.
agree	melongore §	(*milangozo*, a *d*agger ?)–
aiming	munondroer	manondro (?)
age	antitch	antitra
alone	earare	irery
altar	fesoronegher	fisoronana (?)
alter	youvoyea	ovay
amaze	chareck	tserika
anchor	tumborto	tambato (?)
anger	maluke	meloka (B)
angle	merminter ‖	maminta
ankle	pucopuke	pokopoko (pv.)
anoint	whosora	hosory
answer	mungonore	(*Manouinh*) R
any body	lerhulu	lehy olon
appoint	mermutore	(*metongonangare*) R
arm-pit	kelleck	helika
archer	permawlay	*famòlaina* (?) [S. P. O.
arise	fuher	foha
army	taffick	tafika
arrow	anucfalla ¶	anak. f—

* The omission of *s* after *t* is common in Betsileo.

† An imperative from *tovona*, meaning something to boot, an addition.

‡ Imperative from *miravaka*.

§ Evidently an imperative from *longo*, a friend (S).

‖ Active from *fintana*, a fish-hook.

¶ I can find no word like this in the dictionaries, but I was once told in Fianarantsoa that Raboba of Ikongo was *Funalo-lahy*, meaning a good spearman, so that *alo* or *ala* may mean something thrown.

** R refers to Rochon's Vocabulary after Robert, 1727.—S. P. O.

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
ascend	munonego	manainga (?)
ashes	lavanuck*	lavenona
asleep	lentey †	*mandre* (R)
awoke	mertearro	mahatsiaro
argument	meanconne	miankàny
alligator	voarha	voay
B.		
Body (of child) ?	jorzarmaner	*zazu manta* (?) [S. P. O.
boy	jorzarloyhe	zazalahy
brother	royloyhe	rahalahy
basin	lerveerferuchs	lovia
brass	sarber	saba (pv.)
black	minetay	mainty
bull	omebayloyhe	ombelahy
brains	bettu	betro
breast	trotter	tratra
belly	troke	troky (B)
back	ambosick	lamosina
beef	haner	hena
bird	voro	vorona
belly-full	vinchy	vintsina
beads	arraer ‡	harana
blood	raw	ra
bandy	sekearf	*miancane* (R)
boil	mundavy	mandevilevy
broil	metonu	mitono
boil over	mundroer §	roatra (?)
butterfly	tondrotto	lolondrano (?)
blunderbuss	bosse	basy
bite	munghabecks	*manifats* (R)
broke	foluck	folaka
buy	mevele	mividy
broth	ro	ro
blow	chuffu	tsofo
beat	fufuho ‖	fofoka
bullock	vosists	vositra
bitter	merfaughts	mafaitra
backbone	towler lambosick	taola-lamosina
bad	rawcthe	ratsy
big	bay	be

* A good example of the interchange of *na* and *ka*.
† Can this come from *lentika ?* very likely.
‡ Coral (beads) of the sea : *vide* French Dictionary.
§ *Mandroatra*, spill, to run over, &c.
‖ Pass. imperative perhaps from *fofoka*, to strike down.

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
bald-head	soroluher	sola-loha
barrel	brecker	bariky
bee	ranatentala	renitantely
before	ungulore	angaloha
beg	mungortock	mangataka
behind	affarro	afara
bottle	folokuke *	folàkoho
bosom	arrongher †	haranana
beheaded	tompucluher	tapaka-loha
bullet	baller	bala
bastard	sarray	sary
by and bye	andreck anna arny	*andro anio amy* [S.P.O.
broom	mermoffer ‡	mamafa
beard	somuchs	somotra
breath	anygha	aina
bones	towler	taolana
beans	antuck	*vontaca* (Flacourt)
bed	keban	kibana (S)
basket	harro	harona
ball	hechurch	
borrow	mungaborrow	manambotra
book or paper	terra toss	taratasy
buffalo	howlu	haolo
bee-hive	tohoke	sohoka
bundle	mevorovore §	vorovoro
blind	chemerheter	tsy mahita
burning	mundavengher ‖	mandevona
bell	potchew	*patsa* (R)
belly-ache	merrawrafu	marary fo
bread	moffu	*mofo*
bladder	tervenneer	tavy hena
beauty	sengger ¶	sanga
baked	tongoffu	tono-afo (?)
bow	ranafalla **	reni-fa **
bark	hulitcharzo	hoditra hazo
barrel of a gun	cornu ††	kanona
burden	enter	entana (*see* p. 145)

* From the French *flacon*.
† I can find *haranana*, a gizzard.
‡ A good example of his cockneyisms.
§ *Vide* French Dictionary, *prendre*, *portir*.
‖ From the action of fire.
¶ *Tsara-sanga* is used often.
** See also *arrow*.
†† From the French *canon*, perhaps.

English.	Drury's Malagasy	Modern Malagasy
C.		
Child	annack	anaka
carravances	vungember	vanga (S)
cocoa-nut	wooernew	voaniho
cloud	rawho	rahona
cold	merninchy	mangitsy (B)
calabash	vartarvo	voatavo
copper	sarbermaner	saba mena
cat	chacker	saka
cow	omebayvovva	ombivavy
cattle	omebay	omby
cheek	fawho	vaoka (?)
crow	quark	goaika
call	kyhu	keho
clear	merlu *	madio
crooked	maluke	meloka
cock	kuhoioyhe	akoholahy
capon	kuho vosist	akohovositra
candle	charreck	*sara* (R)
choose	mechutors	*machea*, or *machay* (R)
covetous	mertete	?
cotton	hawsey †	hasina
conjurer	umossee	*ompamousane* (R)
climb	munganeeher ‡	mananika
chest	sundoke (*see* p. 177)	*sandoch*=a trough (R)
coffin	harzowonger	hazo vorona
come	haveer	avia
cock crow	kuhumunganu	akoho maneno
chin	somo	somotra
calf	anuack an omebay	anakomby
clout	seeke	sikina
clean	merrere	mariry
comb	morrotondro §	maro tondro
common or plain	munto	manta (?)
coward	merwoozo	mavozo
calf of a leg	veete	voa vitsy
canoe	lacker	lakana
change	mernercollu	manakalo
carry	entu	ento
creep	lomorly	?
circumcised	meforer	mifora
cane	tangerer	tandroho [S. P. O.

* This is again a change of *d*.
† *Vide* French Dictionary, *cotonfilé*.
‡ Imperative with final syllable left out.
§ From the teeth, points, of the comb.

English	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
caul	sassuchhaner	?
choke	bohair	*bozeka* [S. P. O.
cream	hendro	hendrony
cannon (a *dart*)	futore (*fitorah*)	*fitovava** [S. P. O.
cotton-tree	zare	*hasy* [S. P. O.
chamelion	taw	tana, tah (R)
cloudy	merauho	mirahona
cloud	rauho	rahona
cry	tomonghe	tomany
cutlass	vearawrer	viara
come here	mehoveatowe	*mihiaviaetoy (?)*
civil	woccust	*vocats* (R)
come down	mejuchore	mizotso
come along	aloyho	aleha
cartouch box	fitter pinner	*fitaovana* (?) [S. P. O.
D.		
Daughter	annackampeller	anakampela (B)
dark	myeak †	*missoca* (R)
dish (a vase)	ampondrer	*ampondre* (R)
dog	amboer	amboa
dry	mungetterhetter	mangetaheta
day	hawndro	andro
dirty	merlauchs	maloto
dram	azzoloyhe	hazolahy
drunk	wooersekarfe	voasakafo (?)
dead	morte	maty, *mate* (R)
dripping	solick	solika
done	effer	efa
duck	cherere	tsiriry
deaf	merrengha	maraina
dust	lumbook	lemboka
dew	aundew	andro
door	varayongher	varavarana
divide	vackue	vakio
drone	ferzimbe	vazimba
dream	munganofee	manonofy
dropped	larchuck	latsaka
dropped it	larchorko	*lauou latsac* (R)
E.		
Earth	tonna	tany
ear	sofee	sofina

* *Fito*, seven; *vava*, mouth ; a salute of seven guns.

† This is probably a misprint for *myeak*, and may possibly be for *maka*, which would mean the same as *maiina*, which means dark.

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
eye	moffu *	maso
eyelids	voloheak	volo
eyebrows	volohondring	volo handrina
elbow	heroy	kibo
enemy	raffaloyhe	rafilahy
eat	humonner	homana
even	merer	
enough	tondra †	tondraka
ell	hanarlavver	?
egg	tule	tody
evening	arever	hariva
eight	varlo	valo
eighty	varlofolo	valofolo
eight hundred	varlozawto	valozato
eight thousand	varlo arevo	valoarivo
east	teenongher	atsinanana
F.		
Father	royya *or* arber	ray, aba (B)
fence	faretchs	faritra
forehead	hondring	handrina
foot	feendeer ‡	fandia (B)
fruit	wooerarzo	voahazo
finger	tonedro	tondro
fish	feer §	fiana (S)
fishing line	to*ll*evinter	tadi-fintana
friend	lonego ‖	longo
four	effutchs	efatra
five	deeme	dimy
fifteen	folodeeme amby	easily seen
five and twenty	rowafolo deeme amby	
five and thirty	talufolo deeme amby	
five and forty	effuchfolo deeme amby	
five and fifty	deemefolo deeme amby	
five and sixty	enuigfolo deeme amby	
five and seventy	fetofolo deeme amby	
five and eighty	varlofolo deeme amby	
five and ninety	seveefolo deeme amby	
five hundred	deeme zawto	
five thousand	deeme arevo	

* This double *f* is evidently a printer's error for the double *s* written in the old style.

† As "*tondraka ny taona*," *vide* French Dictionary.

‡ The name given to the feet of princes in Betsileo.

§ *Fiana* is a common word for fish in Menabe.

‖ The *e* is inserted to lengthen the *o*.

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy
fat	vonedruck	vondraka (B)
flower *	turvolo	tavolo
flea	peer	*pia* (R)
fly	lawletchs	lalitra
fickle	harraravvo	*mireperepe* (R)
fool	addoller	adala
fly away	tumeelingher	tilina
file	choffer	tsofa
full	fennu	feno
full moon	volormer autchs	volana antitra
fright	mertawhoutchs	matahotra
fight	mealler	miadia
fighting	mealle	miady
fire	ossu †	afo
fishing	merminter	maminta
flint	affovarto	afo vato
flesh	nofuch	nofo*ko*
fox	foser	fosa
forty	effuch folo	efatra folo
fan	fernimper	
fly	tumeeling ‡	tilina
feathers, or hair	volo	volo
fetters	parrapingo	parapaingo
flame	lellar	lel (afo)
flower, or blossom	vonegha §	vonyo
fleshfork	fundrambahaner	fandrombakena
freemen	lovohitchs	lohavohitra
fill it up	fennuyea	fenoy
forget	hawlingho	hanadino
flux	tonchoruck	*tsonac* (R)
fry	mungendy	manendry
flag	floy	*laihe* (R)
flood	fororawno	fararano
fetch	mungolor	mangalà
fist	fettock	feteh (R)
fortunate	moss	*massinh* (R)
fast	fortuchs	fatratra (?)
G.		
God	deaan Unghorray	*Andria Zahanhare* (R)
grandfather	rozackloyhe	ray anaka lahy (?)
grandmother	rozackampeller	ray anaka ampela (?)

* Evidently a mistake for *flour*.
† Another mistake, the double *f* has been mistaken for double *s*.
‡ Sakalava for *tsidina*.
§ A good example of the nasal *n*.

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
grandchild	zaffu	zafy
guinea-corn	ampember	ampemba
ground	ton	tany
gold	volarmaner	volamena
green	michne *	maitso
goat	osa	osy
get up	fahavvo	*ma-ma-jtou* (R)
go / go along	mundaher / mundahanner	mandeha / mandehana
garment	sekey *or* lamber	sikina, lamba
gun	ampegaurrutchs	ampingaratra (S)
girl	jorzorampeller	zaza ampela
great	bay	be
goose	onego-onego	*kenonkenona* [S. P. O.
guinea-hen	congar	akanga
guts	tenaugh	tsinay
get farther	mesorangha	miesora any
grass	habbetchs	ahitra
give me some	mungay may	manome
give you none	chemung a may	tsy manome
give	youmayow	omeo
good	suer	soa
guard	ambenner	ambeno
grow	metombo	mitombo
great way	larvitchs	lavitra
gunpowder	pounday	pondy
not good	chesuer	tsy soa
get you gone	meangor	miainga
garlic	tonegulick	tongolo
grindstone	sungherer	tsingerina
grind	sungheru	tsingero
good while	ailer	ela
H.		
House	trangho	trano
honey	tentala	tantely
heat	merfanner	mafana
hail	avandrar	havandra
head	luher	loha
hair	volo	volo
hand	tongher	tànana
heart	fu	fo
hog	lambo	lambo
hook	vinter	fintana
horn	tondrook	tandroka

* The *n* is probably a misprint; read *michue.*

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
hide	mevonoor	mivony
hyde	hulutchs	hoditra
hungry	homerserray	*moussarre* (R)
hundred	zawto	zato
hat	satook	satroka
hoof	hooto	hoho
here	inteer	inty
hear	merray	mahare
hen	coohovovva	akohovavy
hearken	metinoor	mitaina (B)
hot	moy	may
hill, or mountain	volhitcht	volhitra
head-ache	luhermungalelu	loha
husband	valley (S)	vady
hatchet	fermackey	famaky
halt	tarehu	?
how do you do ?	whosuer	ho soa
hunt	mungoro	mangorona
hole	lavvack	lavaka
how many	fera	firy
hoe	soro	*asoroka* [S. P. O.
horse	suwaller	soavaly
heel	hehu	*hoho* [S. P. O.
hedgehog	sorer	*sora* (R)
hiccough	suecendrotch	tsikendrotra (pv.)
hire	metombozzar	mitambazo
hark	metinore	mitainoa re
hammer	furnurore	fanoto (?) (B)
I.		
I	zawho	izaho
I won't	zawho merloy	izaho malaina
I will	atawuch	ataoko
I'll do no more	cheme owquere	tsy manao akory
idle	merwoozzo	mavozo
itch	hauta *	haotra
iron	ve	vy
island	nosa	nosy
J.		
Jar	senevolo	sinivolo
jealous	mermerrothhe	?
jest	somoneger	somonga
joint	sandre	sandry (arm)
K.		
King	panzaccar	mpanjaka

* As in *mihaotra*, to scratch.

English.	Drury s Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
kick	timpaughho *	tsipaka
kill	vonu	vono
kidneys	wooerhaner	voahena
ketch	sumboro	sambony
knife	messu	misa (B)
kite	perponge	papango
knee	luhalleck	lohalika
L.		
Ladle	suddro	sotro
land	tata or tonna	tany
lance	luffu	lefona
lie down	mundraer	mandria
light	merzavvo	mazava
lightning	munghaluchs	manelatra
lights	rabuchhaner	raboka hena (pv.)
look or see	merchinsover	mitsinjovy
looking-glass	hachoro	hetsoro (S)
low	eever	iva
let go	ellyfoy	alefoy
lie	mervanda	mivandy (B)
love	taark	tiako
little	kala	kely
live,	valu	velona
lemon	voersarra	voasary
loss	lavo	levona (?)
leaf	ravven	ravina
lead	ferock	firaka
lips	soneghe	sony
leg	tomebook	tomboko (B)
liver	attinhaner	atihena
louse	hough	hao
long	lavvar	lava
lend	mungaborro	mamambotra (?)
lock, or key	fungheily	fanalahidy
lock of a gun	sophe ampegar satch	sofina
long while	alelur	elaela
locust	verlolller	valala
lizard	roso	
left hand	tongher avveer	tànan-avia
lean	merheer	mahia
looseness	ohorawha	.....ra
lobster	orur	orona
lick	lalouw †	lelafo
don't love it	hallucht	halako ity

* The imperative form, perhaps, *tsipaho*.

† This is very likely an imperative in *a*, *lelafo* or *lelao*, from *lela*, *lelaka*.

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
M.		
Man	loyhe	lahy
mad	tounzaccar	tanjaka (?)
many	mawrow	maro
maggot	oletchs	holitra
mother	ranna	reny
moon	voler	volana
men	hulu	olona
milk	ronoonu	ronono
monkey	vergee	varika
midnight	mutungalla	-maton-alina
mouth	vovvor	vava
musk melon	wantange	voatango
mud	futuck	fotaka
million	arrla	alina (?)
muskittoes	meco	moko
morning	emerrawha	a-maraina (?)
to-morrow	hummerrawha	amaray
mead	toak	toaka
marrow	manuccover	menaka
melt	tennoo*	teno
milt	arrachaner	ar...hena
mouse	varlarvo	voalavo
N.		
Nail of finger	oho	hoho
navel	feutch	foitra
nine	seve	sivy
neck	woozzo	vozona
ninety	seve folo	sivi-folo
nine hundred	seve zawto	sivi-zato (pv.)
nothing	shemishe	tsy misy
night	aulla	alina
north	avarruchs	avaratra
needle	fingihts	fanjaitra
no	charra	tsa (B)
nose	oroong	orona
nigh	merreena	mariny
net	arratto	harato
nettles (sting)	fundrozo	*fanindronana* (F)
O.		
Oath	mefontorr	mifanta
one	eser	Isa

* *Vide* French Dictionary. *Teno* "dissont."

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
old	antichs	antitra
ox	vositchs	vositra
oil	tongon tongher *	tanatana
open	sucorffu	sokafy
t'other day	orertroung	oratrony (B)
P.		
Potatoes	ovemarme	ovy mamy
plantain	ounche	hotsy (B)
plantation	tateck	*harrac* (Flacourt)
plant	fumbulayher	famboly
pap	nunu	nono
partridge	hattacottoe	traotrao
pine-apple	mernasse	mananasy
pillar	ounder	andry
plumb	lomoty †	lamoty
powder	poundey	pondy (pv.)
point	metrondroer	mitondro
pistol	plato	poleta (?)
poison	vorick ‡	vorika
prisoner	sambuch	sambotra
pot	velongha	*villangha* (R)
pipe	keloyhe	kilanjy (?)
poor	rarroc	reraka
people	hulu	olona
pepper	saccavero	sakaviro
plunder	mundravor	mandrava
pitch	leta	dity
pleasant	mertarva	matavy
pirate	kindoc	manintac (R)
purslain	toyanomebaloyhe	tain-ombelahy
periwinkle	dedder	*saja* (Baron)
pigeon	dahew	*halioute* (Flacourt)
Q.		
Quick	merlacky	malaky
R.		
Rain	orer	orana
rainbow	avvar §	avana
rammer	funhochuck	fanoto (?)

* *Tanatana* is the castor-oil plant.
† *Lamoty* is the wild *plum*, the word should be *plum*.
‡ Used in speaking of *ody*.
§ The final syllable dropped and the cockney *r* put on.

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
razor	feharratchs	fiharatra
red	maner	mena
rice	varray	vary
rich	manzarry	manzary
rise	fuher	foha
rough	meraffu *	marofa
run	lomoy	olomay (B)
rope	tolle †	tady
runaway	leffer	lefa (B)
ripe	mossock	masaka
ribs	towlertahazuc	taolan-tehezaʼko
right hand	tongher avanner	tànan-avana
S.		
Sand	fasse	fasina (B)
salt	serer	sira
sail	loy	lay
son	annacloyhe	anakalahy
sun	andro	andro
slave	anaavo ‡	andevo
steer (steep)	rorvovva	*roboka* (?) [S. P. O.
sugarcane	farray	fary
sugar	serermarme	siramamy
sweet	marme	mamy
star	verseer §	fajiry (B)
spoon	suto	sotro
silver	volerfutey	volafotsy
scull	harrandluher	karan-doha
shoulder	soroke	soroka
sleep	meroro	miroro (S)
shot	borseer	basia
six	eanning	enina
seven	feeto	fito
seventeen	folofeetoambe	⎫
seventy	feeto folo	⎪
six hundred	eanning zawto	⎬ ,,
seven hundred	feeto zawto	⎪
six thousand	eanning arevo	⎪
seven thousand	feeto arevo	⎭
small	merlinick	madinika
sunrise	terrack	teraka
sunset	soffutch andro	tsofotra

* *Vide* French Dictionary.

† A very good example of the substitution of *l* for *d* among the Sakalava.

‡ Misprinted: the first *a* should be *d*.

§ A large star (or planet in Betsileo).

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
small (*smell* ?)	oruff	fofona
small shot	pottchuck	fatsaka
spittle	eva	ivy
spit	mundorer	mandrora
south	ateemo	atsimo
sore	boy	vay
sour	mervoyhe	mavao
ship	sambo	sambo
stink	manche	mantsina
strong	merharee	mahery
short	fuher	fohy
spirit	lulu	lolo (?)
seize	samboro	sambory
shoe	hunghermaro	*angammere* (R)
stool	feketrar	fiketrahana
sick	merrawra	marary
sky	longitchs	lanitra
smooth	merlammer	malama
sound, noise or barking of a dog	mungano	maneno
shoot	teferu	tifiro
shave	haharu	haratra
soft	merlemma	malemy
smothered	settuck	setroka (pv.)
smoke	lembook	lemboka
smoke a pipe	metroher tobacco	mitroka
shut the door	arradingho	arindrino
sell	vele	vidy
sour milk	ronoonumandra	ronôno mandry
sea	reac	riaka
servant, sir	salamonger	salama
snares	faundric	fandrika
see	merheter	mahita
I see it	he tucko	hitako
shirt	commeser	somizy (?)
seat	fetuaruc	fitoerako
speak	mevolengher	mivolana
sweet-scented	maungetchs	manitra
some	mishe	misy
speckle	wander	vandana
shake	mungozooner	mangozohozo
stay	munding	monina (?)
spring of water	vovo	vovo
spring of the year	sarrar	*tsara* [S. P. O.
spring of a gun lock	allesoro	?
swim	lomong	lomano
shame	manghetchs	menatra
split	vaccu	vakio

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
small-pox	creer	*kiria* [S. P. O.
staff	zahharr	zara
skin	huletchs	hoditra
side	tohazuc	tehezako
slender	merlenec	madinika (?)
spinage	orngha	anana
serpent	manerrander	menarana
snake	mundoroutchs	*mandouts* (Ogilby)
spin	mary	*mamoly* [S. P. O.
stand	mechangonner	mijanona
steel	veoffo	vi-afo
steal	mungaulutchs	mangalatra
scissors	hette	hety
snore	mearoutchs	mierotra
sweat	lingetch	dinitra
sing	meansaw	misa
shore	tomeboho	tamboho ?
spit (spirit ?)	fermerlarzor	a proper name, *see* p. 185
silly	mernay	minai (R)
sheep	oundy	ondry
spider	morrotongher	maro-tongotra
stone	varto	vato
sink	tumborto	tambato ?
T.		
Tamarind	keley	kily (S)
tankard	furnumerrauno	fanome-rano
take	rumbessu	rambesina
think	mevetchevetche	mihevitretra
trumpet	anchever	an-tsiva
thirteen	folotaluambe	folo telo amby
three	folu	telo
thunder-bolt	apmy	ampi (R)
thigh	talu	fale (R)
thunder	fay	fe
town	hotook	kotroka
thread	tannarr	tanàna
thorn	fola	foly
told	forte	fatika (S)
tears	mungaborrow	manambara
tobacco	rawnomossu	ranomaso
toe (to, *prep* ?)	tobacco	tobako
two	annackinc	*anakaly* [S. P. O.
ten	roaa	roa
twenty	folo	folo
thousand	roaafolo	roafolo
thief	arevo	arivo
	ampegalutchs	mpangalatra

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy
teeth	neefa	nify
tongue	leller	lela
tie	fahaugh *	vahao
trigger	funghatchu †	hatsika
tail	ohe ‡	ohy.
land turtle	hachaffu	*hillintsoca* (R)
sea turtle	faunu	fano
tall	lavvor	lava
turn	metuleher	mitodiha
tell one, two, &c.	mungesau	manisà
tread	hechawho	hitsaho
through §	torawho	toraho
thrive	munzarre	manjary
take	rumbessu	rambesina
tutaneg (zinc)	forockfutey	firaka-fotsy
timber	harzo	hazo
U.		
Uncle	ranaloyhe	rahalahy
under	umbonna	ambony
udder	vorotchs	*vorotra* |S. P. O.
ugly	rawtche	ratsy
uncivil	chewoocust	*tsiuocats* (R)
V.		
Vomit	mundoer	mandoa
W.		
Water	rawño	rano
water-melon	woerzarvo	voatavo
wax	luco	loko
warm	moy	may
wave	onezur	onjana
wind	ornghin	anina (a breeze)
wood	auler	ala
white	fute	fotsy
wild	melampo	lemby (deserted) ?
what?	eno	inona ?
what's this?	eno toey	inona itoy ?
what's the matter?	eno zow	inona izao ?
what are you doing?	eno tough noro	inona ataonao ?
wadding	huets	hoto
west	andreffer	andrefana

* This is evidently meant for *untie*.
† *Fihatsim*-basy, or *fanatsim*-basy.
‡ *Vide* "*Queue*," French Dictionary.
§ This should be *throw*.

English.	Drury's Malagasy.	Modern Malagasy.
wood for firing	hatoy	hatay
wonder	cherrec	tserika
work	mearsar	miasa
wife	walley	valy (S)
weary	mocoutchs	mokotra
white man	verzarhar	Vazaha
wide	mertarcheths	mitaritra or mitatra
whisper	bisabise	bitsibitsika
wasp	fundroso	*fanindronana* (F)
wrist (writ ?)	soro	writ=*soratra* (F)
wise	merhehitchs	mahihitra ?
winter	fouser	*vozao* [S. P. O.
whistle	fuke	foka
weave	mernendru	*mancnona* (F)
wet	lay	lena
Y.		
Yam	ov	ovy
years (yaws)	color	(*see* p. 266)
year	taough	taona
yes	toguore	tokoa
yonder	aruea	aroa
yesterday	umorla	omaly
Sunday	Alhaida	Alahady
Monday	Alletenine	Alatsinainy
Tuesday	Talorter	Talata
Wednesday	Alarrerbeer	Alarobia
Thursday	Commeeshe	Kamisy *
Friday	Jumor	Zoma
Saturday	Sarbueche	Sabotsy *

* The omission of Ala in Thursday, and of A in Saturday, is common in Imerina even.

J. RICHARDSON.

The New Malagasy-English Dictionary was edited and re-arranged by the Rev. J. Richardson, Head Master of the London Missionary Society's Normal School, at Antananarivo, in which city it was printed entirely by native Hova labour, in the year 1885. The reader cannot fail to be struck with the large proportion of corrupted foreign words which have been adopted into the language of the island. In fact Créole French, or *Petit nègre*, together with a species of "*Pidgin-English*," forms the basis of a species of *Lingua Franca* throughout the coast line of the great African Island.—S. P. O.

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AN ACCOUNT OF

THE ISLAND OF MADAGASCAR.

BY

THE ABBÉ ROCHON.

(*Abridged from the English Version of* 1792.)

DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND.

BY THE ABBÉ ALEXIS ROCHON. (1768).

THE island of Madagascar has excited the avaricious desires of the Europeans ever since it had the misfortune to be tolerably known. Its extent, together with the richness of its soil and productions, seemed to offer to the people who should make a conquest of it commercial advantages which they would not certainly have suffered themselves to neglect. Luckily, however, the unwholesomeness of the climate has hitherto saved it from the yoke of those civilized nations who assume the barbarous and unjust right of subjecting to their authority those tribes whom they call savages, merely because they are unacquainted with the manners and customs of Europe.

There is not one of these civilized nations that can boast of having sacrificed even a few of the most trifling interests of commerce to the sacred principles of the law of nature. All of them have been unjust and barbarous: all of them have carried the sword, fire, and disease into every place to which they were attracted by the hopes of gain. Ought they to forget that the soil upon which these savages live belongs to them as much as that upon which we live belongs to us?

The Europeans would have acquired more solid and lasting advantages had they endeavoured to introduce industry and the arts into those countries which are destitute of them. These presents would not have been unproductive, and commerce would have soon experienced how much preferable that

mild and humane method is, to the unjust and cruel means which they employed to subdue the unfortunate inhabitants of all those countries which held forth to them any new objects of wealth.

The island of Madagascar was discovered in 1506, by Lawrence Almeyda; but the Persians and Arabs knew it from time immemorial under the name of Sarandib.

Alphonso Albuquerque commissioned Ruy Pereira dy Conthintho to explore the interior part of it, and ordered Tristan d'Acunha to sail round it, and mark the bearings of its principal capes and head-lands.

This island is divided into twenty-eight provinces, which are, Anossy, Manapani, the valley of Amboule, Vohitzban, Watte-Manahou, Ycondre, Etomampo, Adchimoussy, Erengdranes, Vohitz-Anghombes, Manacarongha, Mantatane, Antaveres, Ghalemboule, Tamatave, Sahaveh, Voulou-Voulou, Andafoutchy, Manghabey, Adcimoutchy, Mandrarey, Ampatre, Caremboule, Mahafalley, Houlouvey, Sivah, Yvandrhou, and Machicores.

When the Portuguese discovered Madagascar they wished to give it the name of the island of St. Lawrence. In the reign of Henry IV. the French named it Ile Dauphine; but though its real name is Madecasse, it is generally known under that of Madagascar.

This large island, according to several learned geographers, is the Cerne of Pliny and the Minuthias of Ptolemy.

It extends almost N.N.E. and S.S.W., and lies between the twelfth and twenty-sixth degrees of southern latitude.

We may reckon that the superficies of this island, so celebrated for the fertility of its soil and the variety of its productions, contains two hundred millions of acres of excellent land. It is watered on all sides by streams and large rivers, and, above all, by a great number of small rivulets, which have their sources at the bottom of that long chain of mountains which separates the eastern from the western coast. The two highest mountains in the island are Vigagora in the north, and Botistmene in the south.

These mountains contain in their bowels abundance of fossils and valuable minerals. The traveller who, in the

pursuit of knowledge, traverses for the first time wild and mountainous countries, intersected by ridges and valleys, where nature, abandoned to its own fertility, presents the most singular and varied productions; cannot help being often struck with terror and surprise on viewing those awful precipices, the summits of which are covered with trees, as ancient, perhaps, as the world. His astonishment is increased when he hears the noise of immense cascades, which are so inaccessible that it is impossible for him to approach them. But these scenes, truly picturesque, are always succeeded by rural views, delightful hills, and plains where vegetation is never interrupted by the severity and vicissitude of the seasons. The eye with pleasure beholds those extensive savannas which afford nourishment to numerous herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Fields of rice and potatoes present also a new and highly interesting spectacle. One sees agriculture flourishing, while nature alone defrays almost all the expenses: the fortunate inhabitants of Madagascar never moisten the earth with their sweat; they turn it up slightly with a pick-axe, and this labour alone is sufficient. They make small holes in the ground at a little distance from each other, and throw into them a few grains of rice, over which they spread a little mould with their feet. What proves the great fertility of the soil is, that a field sown in this manner produces an hundred-fold.

The forests contain a prodigious variety of most beautiful trees, such as palms of every kind, ebony, wood for dying, bamboos of an enormous size, and orange and lemon trees.

Timber fit for masts and for constructing ships is no less common than that employed by carpenters and cabinet-makers. Flacourt says that he sent to France, in 1650, fifty-two thousand weight of aloe wood of an excellent quality. Physicians call this wood *agallochum*, and the Portuguese eagle-wood.

These numerous trees and shrubs are surrounded by a multitude of parasite plants and vines. In these forests may be found agaric and mushrooms, the colours of which are lively and agreeable, and which have an exquisite savour. The Malegaches call them *holat*, and know very well how to distinguish those which are not prejudicial to the health.

Useful gums and resins are also collected here; the milky juice which the islanders draw from trees, called in their language *finguiere*,* produces, when it coagulates, that singular substance known to naturalists by the name of elastic gum. The elasticity of this resinous gum has been lately employed in various arts; surgery has even derived some benefit from it, as it serves to make excellent bandages; but it is evident that this valuable substance may be used with advantage for many other purposes.

All the forests of Madagascar abound with plants unknown to botanists, some of which are aromatic and medicinal, and others fit for dyeing.

Flax, a kind of hemp, which in length and strength surpasses that of Europe, the sugar-cane, wax, different kinds of honey, tobacco, indigo, black pepper, gum lac, amber, ambergrease, several silky and cottony substances, would long ago have been objects of commerce, which Madagascar might have furnished in profusion, had the Europeans, since they frequented the island, endeavoured to diffuse among the islanders that knowledge which is necessary for preparing and rendering valuable the articles above mentioned. The most indefatigable botanist, in the course of a long life, would scarcely make himself even slightly acquainted with the natural history of all the vegetable productions that grow in this island, the extent of which, in latitude, comprehends several climates.

Every research which tends to give us a knowledge of the productions of Madagascar will be no less useful to commerce than to the improvement of arts and manufactures.

There are, doubtless, few countries in the world where navigators can find, in greater abundance, and at less expense, refreshments of every kind.

It was in the great bay of Antongil that M. Mahè de la Bourdonnais, with as much skill as expedition, found means to repair the losses and misfortunes which his squadron had sustained: without the resources which he procured here, that able seaman would have, perhaps, not been in a condition to put to sea, and might, consequently, have failed of that great success in India which has given a lustre to his memory.

* *Iatropha elastica.* LINN.—T.

The long stay which M. de la Bourdonnais made in the bay of Antongil, to repair his shattered vessels, filled him with regret during his whole life that he had not acquired more knowledge of the productions of Madagascar while he was governor of the isles of France and Bourbon. This celebrated man was fully sensible of the utility which that large island might be to the colony over which he had presided.

Timber for building houses and constructing ships, pitch and tar, whale oil, salt-fish of all kinds, indigo, tobacco, manufactured hemp and flax, with cotton and different kinds of silk, appeared to him very important objects of commerce. He admired with what dexterity the women of Madagascar weave those beautiful pieces of stuff which serve them for clothing; some of them are made of the filaments of the leaves of a plant called *ravinala*, others more highly valued by the natives, but in less request among the Europeans, are manufactured of cotton and silk.

M. de la Bourdonnais was no less struck on seeing the industry with which these people forge and melt iron and other metals; but he set more value on their manner of twisting small cables, which are employed in fishing for whales, and in mooring their piroguas.

He hoped that the natural ingenuity of these islanders and their taste for the mechanical arts would render it a matter of little difficulty to introduce into Madagascar several branches of commerce, useful both to Europe and the French colonies in the isles of Bourbon and France. He proposed, therefore, to engage the directors of the East India Company to erect there manufactories of sail-cloth, forges, founderies, and rope-walks. The population of Madagascar is sufficiently extensive to give us reason to expect success from such establishments; besides, in that country, labour and raw materials are exceedingly cheap.

No dread was to be apprehended that M. de la Bourdonnais would lead the directors of the company into great expense for warehouses and buildings. On the contrary, he wished they might have the prudence to imitate the simplicity and economy observed by the Malegaches in the construction of their houses. Nothing, indeed, would be more ruinous than

to raise in this wild country edifices like those used by us for carrying on manufactories of that kind. It is too common in Europe to see useful establishments languish, and sometimes even occasion bankruptcy to those who set them on foot, because they have been so imprudent as to launch out into an extravagance of building which is almost always of no utility to the principal object of their plan.

The industry of these people cannot, certainly, in any manner be compared to that of the Europeans. It is impossible to calculate exactly the immense loss of time which is occasioned to them by the coarseness of their tools and the imperfection of their arts. The savage does not know as we do the advantages of dividing labour, which procures to each individual the greatest possible degree of dexterity, and besides saves time, which artizans always lose in leaving one kind of work to undertake another. When one, however, has been a witness to the laborious care of the savages, and to the patience which they employ in order to succeed in the most common arts, one cannot help honouring them with that grateful applause which is due to those who, among us, exert themselves in bringing manufactures and the arts to perfection. Nothing is necessary but some new inventions to change the industry of a great nation. The invention of the stocking-loom, and the more recent discovery of spinning cotton by machinery, have operated a great revolution in these two branches of manufacture. Neither knitting nor spinning by the hand can ever in future come in competition with work executed by machines.

Ye Europeans who travel into these distant countries communicate to those people, whom you call savages, your learning and your knowledge; make it an indispensable law of your duty to behave to them with that justice, that equality, and that attachment which ought to prevail among beings of the same species! The enlightened state of the present age no longer permits you to be ignorant of this sacred duty. Forget not the immense obligations you yourselves are under to some truths which were unknown to your ancestors. You are indebted to them for the rapid progress you have made in the mathematical sciences and the useful arts.

The improvement of the rational faculties has an influence on human happiness which the most refined sophistry cannot destroy. Knowledge afterwards is susceptible only of increase; and man becomes happier and better in proportion as he is enlightened: for what system is more false or dangerous than that which is founded upon a contrary principle? Can it be denied that a proper education, given with care to some young Malegaches, who might be sent back to their own country when they had acquired a perfect knowledge of our industry and manufactures, would be of great service to that extensive island? But that this service might be complete, these young islanders ought to be preserved from catching that frivolous turn of mind which is so destructive to society in Europe, and especially in France. Care ought to be taken, above all, that they should not carry to their island the seeds of this pernicious scourge, which checks every kind of useful industry, and diffuses inexpressible evils throughout whole nations. It is in large capitals particularly that this scourge is felt. Millions of people perish in the country through wretchedness and hard labour, while the rich affix a value only to agreeable talents and arts of luxury. That excessive fondness which the great show for things of no use, and which are often very pernicious, is so common, that it makes very little impression upon us. What then do the Europeans possess of such value that they take the liberty to despise all the rest of mankind? If we consider our manners and our laws, we shall find that we have as yet scarcely emerged from barbarity; and the most enlightened men cannot foresee the epoch when the wisest of nations will be delivered from those ridiculous prejudices which check useful industry and give an importance only to objects that are destructive, or, at least, of no utility.

The natives of Madagascar are called Malegaches or Madecasses. They are portly in their persons, and rise above the middle stature. The colour of their skin is different: among one tribe it is of a deep black, and among another tawny: some have a copper-coloured tint; but the colour of the greater part is olive.

All those who are black have woolly hair, like the negroes on the coast of Africa. Those who are of a complexion

similar to that of the Indians and Mulattoes have as lank hair as the Europeans. Their nose is not flat; they have a broad, open forehead; their lips are thin; and their features are regular and agreeable. These people generally display in their countenance a peculiar character of frankness and good-nature. They never show any desire of learning but things which relate to the simplest wants of mankind, and this desire is always extremely moderate: they are very indifferent respecting knowledge which cannot be obtained without reflection. A natural want of care and a general apathy renders everything insupportable to them that require attention. Sober, light, and active, they spend the greater part of their lives in sleeping and in amusing themselves.

The Malegache, like the savage, is destitute both of virtue and vice. To him the present is everything; he is susceptible of no kind of foresight; and he does not even conceive that there are men on the earth who give themselves uneasiness respecting futurity. These islanders are free beings, who enjoy peace of mind and health of body. Man is so organized that, whether owing to moral or physical causes, he who has the misfortune to think of himself is almost always in a state of illness. Indeed, when men have a good constitution, they affix little value to the advantage they enjoy, in that respect, over almost all their fellow creatures. Our evils, if I may say so, are in ourselves, and our pleasures in those objects which procure them to us. Man is a humane, feeling, and compassionate being, and it is our constitution which irresistibly leads us to assist those whom we see suffering. It is that salutary organization which, extinguishing, as one may say, self-interest in each individual, supplies among people who live in a state of nature the want of laws and of virtues. It is that which prevents the robust savage from robbing childhood or feeble old age of its subsistence, even when he is obliged to expose himself to danger and fatigue in order to procure wherewithal to satisfy his hunger. In short, it is to this noble organization that the savage is indebted for that aversion which he has to hurt his own species, and this natural and involuntary sentiment luckily does not depend on the principles of education.

The Malegache, as well as the savage, is absolute master of himself; his freedom is confined by no check or restraint; he goes wherever he thinks proper, acts as he chooses, and does what he pleases, except what may hurt a fellow-creature. It never entered the mind of a Malegache to attempt to domineer over the thoughts or actions of any one; each individual has his own peculiar manner of living, and his neighbour never disturbs him, nor even thinks of attempting it. In this respect these islanders are much wiser than the Europeans, who have the cruel madness to wish that all the people of the earth would conform to their customs, opinions, and even prejudices.

Are savages then so much to be pitied? Do we find many of them discontented with their condition? Does it become us to despise the state of nature? Are we not surrounded by men who, tired of existence, detest it, and seek to deprive themselves of it?

The savage confines his wants and desires to the procuring of what is absolutely necessary for his subsistence. He enjoys in peace the gifts of nature, and endures with silence those evils which are inseparable from humanity.

The conduct of man in a state of civilization is not so reasonable. Idleness and opulence hurry him on to those vain and false enjoyments which, in the end, bring upon him new infirmities; while unrestrained passions and a taste for the most frivolous things make him continually deviate from the path that leads to happiness. He who seeks it never finds it. Happiness exists, and can exist only in ourselves and in the good use which we make of our reason.

Were the savages as unhappy as we suppose, because they are not acquainted with, or despise, all those superfluities upon which we set so much value, why do they refuse to adopt our manners, our customs, and our laws?

"Van der Stel, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, having procured a Hottentot child, caused him to be educated according to the manners and customs of Europe. Fine clothes were given to him; he was taught several languages; and his progress fully corresponded with the care taken of his education. Van der Stel, entertaining great hopes of his talents,

sent him to India under the protection of a commissary general, who employed him with advantage in the company's affairs. After the death of the commissary this Hottentot returned to the Cape. A few days after, while on a visit to some Hottentots, his relations, he formed a resolution of pulling off his European dress in order to clothe himself with a sheep's skin. He then repaired to Van der Stel, in this new attire, carrying a bundle containing his old clothes, and, presenting them to the governor, addressed him as follows: 'Be so kind, sir, as to observe, that I for ever renounce these clothes; I am determined to live and to die in the religion, manners, and customs of my ancestors. The only favour I have to beg of you is, that you will suffer me to keep the necklace and cutlass which I now wear.' Having delivered this speech, he immediately betook himself to flight, without waiting for the governor's answer, and was never afterwards seen at the Cape." *

Such examples are not uncommon. I could mention several of the same kind among the Madecasses.

The inhabitants of Madagascar are divided into a great number of tribes. It is supposed that the population of this island may amount to four millions. This evaluation, however, is by far too great, and it is impossible to ascertain the truth on this point, in the present state of the island, which is divided into a great number of societies, all distinct one from the other: each society inhabits that canton which it finds most convenient, and governs itself according to its own usages. A tribe is composed of several villages, who have all a particular chief. This chief is sometimes elected, but for the most part succeeds by hereditary right. The lands are not divided; they belong to those who take the trouble to till them. These islanders are not acquainted either with locks or bolts, and live in a very frugal manner. Hunger regulates their hours of repast. It is, however, common to see them dine at ten in the morning and sup at four in the afternoon. Their food consists of very white rice, exceedingly light, and well boiled, which they besprinkle with a succulent kind of soup, made from fish or flesh, and seasoned with pimento,

* *Histoire des Voyages*, tom. v.

ginger, saffron, and a few aromatic herbs. This simple dish is served up in the leaves of the *ravinala*, which are used for plates, dishes, and spoons. These vessels are always clean, and are renewed at each repast.

The Malegaches have two method only of preparing their food. They either boil it in earthen vessels of an excellent quality, which they manufacture with great ingenuity, and which they call *panelles*, or they broil it upon the coals.

They catch with much dexterity a great number of birds unknown in Europe, which are much sought after by naturalists on account of the beauty of their plumage, as they are esteemed by travellers, on account of their exquisite taste.

The pheasant, the partridge, the quail, the pintado or Guinea fowl, the wild duck, teals of five or six different kinds, the black paroquet, the spoon-bill, the turtle-dove, the blackbird, the green wood-pigeon, pigeons and paroquets of various colours, together with a kind of bat of a monstrous size, afford excellent and delicate nourishment to the Europeans. It was not without a considerable degree of reluctance that I first ate the bats of Madagascar, dressed after the manner of a fricaseed chicken. These animals are so hideous that the very sight of them frightens our sailors, yet when one can overcome that disgust which is inspired only by the idea of their figure, their flesh is found to be much more palatable than that of our best fowls.

The Malegaches catch immense quantities both of sea and fresh water fish.

The dorado, breams of different kinds, soles, pilchards, much larger but not so good or so fat as ours, herrings, mackerel, oysters, mussels, crabs, and turtle, furnish food in abundance to the islanders who live on the borders of the sea. The rivers also supply them with very fine eels and fresh-water mullets, in taste and excellence preferable to sea mullets. On these coasts there are a great many kinds of fish which one must not eat without trying whether they are poisonous, by putting a piece of silver under their tongue. If the piece of silver loses its colour and becomes black, those who should eat them would experience the most fatal symptoms, and be exposed to great danger. Several of the

people belonging to Admiral Boscawen's squadron lost their lives at Rodriguez by not taking this useful precaution.

The French have frequented only the eastern coast of Madagascar. The province of Carcanossi, in which Fort Dauphin stands, is well known to them, and also a part of those where Foulepointe, the Bay of Antongil, and the island of Nossi-Hibrahim are situated.

OF THE SOUTHERN PART OF MADAGASCAR.

That part of Madagascar where Fort Dauphin is situated is very populous. Almost all the villages are built upon eminences; they are surrounded by two rows of strong palisades, and within these there is a parapet of earth four feet in height. Large bamboos, placed at a distance of five feet from each other, and sunk to a considerable depth in the ground, serve to strengthen the palisades; but some of these villages are fortified also by a ditch ten feet in breadth and six in depth.

The place where the chief resides is called *Donac:* it contains two or three buildings surrounded by a peculiar kind of inclosure, where the chief lives with his women and his children.

The chiefs always go armed with a fusee and a stick headed with iron, to the other extremity of which is affixed a small bunch of cow's hair; they cover their heads with a cap made of red woollen cloth. It is by their caps, above all, that they can be distinguished by their subjects. The authority of these chiefs is very much limited; yet in the province of Carcanossi they are supposed to be the proprietors of all the land, which they distribute among their subjects, in order to be tilled and cultivated. For this they require a small quit-rent, which, in the language of the country, is called *faensa.*

The people of the province of Carcanossi are not entirely ignorant of the art of writing. They have even some historical books in the Madecasse language; but their learned men, whom they call *Ombiasses*, use only the Arabic characters. They have among them treatises on medicine, geomancy, and judicial astrology. These Ombiasses are both sorcerers and

physicians. The most celebrated come from the province of Matatane, in which country magic is preserved in its full glory. The Matatanes are dreaded by the other natives of the island because they excel in this art of deception. The Ombiasses profess, in the public schools, geomancy and astrology. The art of writing has, doubtless, been brought into this island by the Arabs, who made a conquest of it about three hundred years ago. Their paper is made in the valley of Amboule; it is manufactured from the *Papyrus nilotica*, which the Madecasses name *Sanga-Sanga*. They pull off with great dexterity the inner bark of this tree, divide it into very thin filaments, which they moisten with water, and having laid them across each other, in various directions, press them well down. They are then boiled in a strong lye of ashes, and afterwards pounded in a large wooden mortar till they are reduced to a paste. This paste is washed and drenched with water upon a frame made of bamboos, in the form of a grate. When this operation is finished, the leaves are spread out to dry in the sun, and are glazed with a decoction of rice water, called, in the Malegache language, *ranou pan*. This paper is of a yellowish colour, but when it is well glazed it does not imbibe the ink. The pens used by these islanders are made of the bamboo.

Their ink is made from a decoction in boiling water of the bark of a tree which they call *arandrato*. This ink is not quite so black as ours, but it is naturally more shining.

The Arabic language has made some progress in the north-west part of the island of Madagascar. It is well known that the Arab princes formed large establishments along the African coast, which, according to geographers, correspond with the kingdoms of Monomotapa and Mono-Emugi. They took possession also of the island of Comoro; and these princes, when they emigrated to Africa and the adjacent isles, did not forget their ancient country. They still indeed carry on an inconsiderable trade with Aden, Muscat, and the coasts of Abyssinia. They have also on the small river of Bombetoka, in Madagascar, a kind of settlement, which enables them to visit different parts of that island for the purposes of commerce. By these means they have introduced their language, and

left some traces of Mahometanism among the Malegaches. Formerly there subsisted between the Arabs and the Portuguese of India a hatred and animosity which were founded solely on the zeal these two nations entertained for their religion. The Arabs of Comoro and Madagascar made frequent attacks upon the Portuguese establishments on the coast of Africa, which did them great injury: they even destroyed some of their settlements; but this hatred became gradually extinguished when the decline of the Portuguese power rendered them less the objects of jealousy. An attempt was made at Goa, about twenty years ago, to take advantage of this suspension of hostilities in order to form a Portuguese settlement at Cape St. Sebastian, in Madagascar. The intention of this establishment was merely religious. The Portuguese thought of forming a mission rather than a factory; but this project was not attended with success. M. Bosse, an inhabitant of the Isle of Bourbon, saw the melancholy remains of this establishment.

It is surprising that Mahometanism has not made greater progress in this island, which has been so much frequented by the Arabs. However, if we except circumcision, abstinence from pork, and some few trifling practices, which have very little influence over the conduct of these people, the descendants of the Arabs themselves have lost sight of the fundamental parts of their religious opinions. They do not believe in a future existence; like the Manichees, they admit of two principles—one supremely good, and the other extremely wicked. They never address their prayers to the former, but they entertain a great dread of the latter. They are continually doing homage and offering up sacrifices to him.

The island of Madagascar is so near the coast of Africa that it is natural to suppose that it must have been peopled from that vast continent; but at present the different races are so intermixed that it would be vain to attempt to describe all the varieties of them.

One can, however, in this island distinguish the race of real negroes; but it is a matter of more difficulty to distinguish those who are descended from the whites.

The whites, who inhabit the province of Anossi and Carca-

nossi, pretend to be descended from Imina, the mother of Mahomet. They have assumed the name of Zafferahimini. The whites who inhabit Foulepointe, Nossi-Hibrahim, and the bay of Antongil, are sprung, some from the pirates, and others from the Jews: for this reason they call themselves Zaffe-Hibrahim, that is to say, the descendants of Abraham. Besides these there is a third kind of whites, who say they were sent to Madagascar by the Caliph of Mecca, to instruct the Malegaches in the secrets of nature and the religion of Mahomet. These impostors seized upon the province of Matatane, after they had expelled and massacred the Zafferahimini, who governed that district. They are called Zaffi-Casimambou. Their complexion is darker than that of the other whites, and their profession is to teach to read and write the Arabic language.

The Zafferahimini, in the province of Anossi and Carcanossi, believe that they came originally from the sandy plains on the borders of Mecca. On this account they are called *Ontampassemaca*, and are divided into three classes, the Rhoandrians, the Anacandrians, and the Ontzatsi. The first and most honourable class is that of the Rhoandrians. People of this class have assumed to themselves the privilege of killing animals. Among savages and people who subsist by hunting, the trade of a butcher is almost always held in great distinction. The Rhoandrians are the nobility of the country, and it is always from this class that the sovereign is chosen.

The Anacandrians are descended from the Rhoandrians and a woman of an inferior class. For this reason they share with the Rhoandrians the honour and advantage of killing for the other islanders such animals as are necessary to their subsistence.

The Ontzatsi are the last class of the Ontampassemaca, but they enjoy no particular marks of distinction. They are generally brave soldiers, skilled in the art of war, who can throw a stone or an assegai with great dexterity, and who spend their time in dancing, sleeping, and amusing themselves. They learn from their earliest infancy some songs containing lessons of morality, or fables respecting their origin.

The native blacks are divided into four classes—the Voadziri, the Lohavohits, the Ontzoa, and the Ondeva.

The Voadziri, we are assured, are the descendants of the ancient sovereigns of the island. They are generally pretty rich in slaves and flocks, and they are allowed to possess several villages. These people must be held in great consideration among the islanders of Madagascar, for they have preserved, notwithstanding the despotism of the Arabs who conquered the province of Anossi, the right of killing, when they are not in the presence of a Rhoandrian or an Anacandrian, such animals as belong to their subjects. The Lohavohits are much less powerful than the Voadziri. They can never possess more than one village; and, however rich they may be in flocks, they must always send for a Rhoandrian or an Anacandrian to kill those animals which they and their subjects use as food.

The caste of the Ontzoa comes immediately after that of the Lohavohits, to whom they are nearly related, but they have no kind of authority or privilege. The Ondeva are slaves by extraction. In the Malegache language that word signifies *a lost man.*

The Malegaches preserve, respecting their origin, a fable which corresponds extremely well with the subdivision I have given of these different castes.

Such of these islanders as have any erudition relate that the Creator of heaven and earth formed, from the body of the first man whilst he was asleep, seven women. These were the mothers of the different castes.

The caste of the Rhoandrians are the offspring of the first man and the woman formed from his brain. The mother of the Anacandrians and that of the Ontzatsi had not so noble an origin. The one was formed from his neck, and the other from the left shoulder.

The caste of the Voadziri proceed from the first man and the woman formed out of his right side.

The mother of the Lohavohits and the Ontzoa came from the thigh and the calf of the leg; but the extraction of the Ondeva is still meaner. They are said to be descended from the soles of the feet.

It is doubtless a subject of melancholy reflection to find amongst the people who inhabit the large province of Anossi so ridiculous fables respecting the inequality of their condition. What a deplorable absurdity for savages to refuse being brethren and to disdain a common origin! The explanation of this kind of phenomenon can be found only in the conquest which the Arabs, the ancestors of the Rhoandrians, made of Madagascar. This foreign race have left, wherever they were dispersed, the most lamentable traces of superstition. The Rhoandrians are reduced at present to a family of about twenty persons. None of them are to be found but in the province of Anossi; and there is reason to hope that the island will at length be delivered from the government and yoke of these conquerors, who have laid it waste and infected it with Mahometan practices.

The Malegaches submit to the Rhoandrians only as free subjects. They change their chiefs at pleasure, and they can attach themselves to any one whom they think capable of securing to them happiness and tranquillity. These islanders are too brave to crouch under a burdensome yoke, but their extreme credulity is, without doubt, very prejudicial to their liberty and to the success of their enterprises.

How is it possible that these people, involved in the darkness of ignorance, can defend themselves against the deception of the Ombiasses, when the most enlightened nations are still every day dupes to quacks and impostors? It would appear as if it were necessary that man should suffer himself to be subjected by chimeras. Reason is seldom ever so powerful as to preserve him entirely from that fondness for the marvellous which often hurries him into the most ridiculous illusions; and if in civilized nations he sometimes artfully conceals this fatal propensity, it is only because he is ashamed of his weakness.

The Malegaches of the province of Anossi are lively, sensible, and grateful; they are far from being destitute of intelligence or capacity. These islanders are passionately fond of women, and when in their company never appear sad or dejected. Their principal attention is to please the fair sex, who, in this country more than in any other, meet with

that respect and deference which are so necessary to the happiness of society. Man here never commands as a despot, nor does the woman ever obey as a slave. The balance of power inclines even in favour of the women. Their empire is that of beauty, mildness, and the graces, for, colour excepted, the Malegache women are handsome. Their persons are slender and genteel, they have pleasing and delicate features, a soft, smooth skin, teeth remarkably white, and fine blue eyes, the pupils of which are brown and sparkling.

A plurality of wives is not uncommon here among the chiefs and those who are rich; but they never espouse more than one legally, the rest are considered as concubines. This practice is not attended with disagreeable consequences in Madagascar, for all these women live in harmony together; besides, a divorce may take place as often as the conjugal union displeases either the husband or the wife. When they part, however, by mutual consent, they restore to each other the property they possessed before marriage. In Madagascar adultery is looked upon as a robbery, and as such is punished. These people, therefore, pay the utmost respect to marriage; they forewarn strangers to behave with decency to their wives, but they offer them their daughters, and think themselves much honoured when they have children by them. Married women may be known by their hair, which is separated into tresses, and bound up in the form of a nosegay on the top of the head. Young women suffer it to fall carelessly over their shoulders. Husbands are always in high spirits when with their wives; their presence inspires them with joy; as soon as they perceive them they begin to dance and to sing, and they continually repeat that they sooth the cares of life. The Malegache women appear to be happy, and are generally in good humour. Their lively, cheerful, and equal temper is peculiarly pleasing to the Europeans.

While the Malegaches are at war their women sing and dance incessantly throughout the whole day, and even during a part of the night. They imagine that these continual dances animate their husbands and increase their vigour and courage. They scarcely allow themselves time to enjoy their meals. When the war is ended, they assemble at sunset and renew

their singing and dancing, which always begin with much noise and the sound of various instruments. Their songs are either panegyrics or satires, and appeared to me to interest the spectators very much. Such sports are a kind of useful lessons in which glorious deeds are celebrated and contemptible actions ridiculed. As soon as a woman perceives that her health betrays any signs of having had familiar intercourse with the Europeans, she absents herself from those joyful assemblies, in order to avoid the cutting raillery of her companions, and to put herself under the care of the physicians or Ombiasses. This custom prevents the venereal disease from spreading so much in this island as it has spread in Europe; besides, the Ombiasses have found out a remedy for this disorder, which is said to be extremely efficacious. I do not recollect the name of the plant which they use, but I know that its leaves resemble those of the *phillyrea*. These physicians order the patient to chew and swallow it, lying alternately on the back and belly, in a horizontal position. The patient must not be loaded with clothes, and in order that perspiration may not be impeded she must be surrounded on all sides with a strong, brisk fire during the whole time that the remedy acts. The virus of the disease generally accumulates in the soles of the feet, and the abscess there formed is seldom attended with disagreeable consequences. Great care is taken that the heat of the fire may not be too disagreeable to the patient. These savage people thus know how to deliver themselves happily and in less time than we from that scourge which we introduced amongst them, and which in Europe occasions so much devastation.

Most travellers, instead of lamenting that the savages ever became acquainted with the Europeans, seem to take delight in throwing out every kind of invective against them. It is thus that they have almost always rewarded them for the hospitality which they so generously and disinterestedly showed towards us. If you read Flacourt * you will imagine

* He was director-general of the French East India Company, and in 1648 had the management of an expedition in the island of Madagascar, which, like all the preceding, proved unsuccessful. This expedition, however, procured a very minute account of the island,

that the Malegaches are the most perverse, the most deceitful, and the most fawning of mankind. He does not hesitate to assert that among these islanders treachery and revenge are accounted virtues, compassion and gratitude weaknesses. Such absurd declamation, however, can impose only on those who have not studied with Rousseau man in his primitive state. Can he indeed, who follows without restraint the dictates of nature, be corrupt and wicked? When man, in a civilized state, is hurried on by the impetuosity of passion, his desires, rather inflamed than satisfied, plunge him into an abyss from which all the power of reason cannot deliver him. But the savage, when in his pleasures he follows the impulse of his senses, experiences nothing of the like kind. In all countries where men are free, and where inequality of condition is known only by a few faint shades, the riches of individuals are that of the soil, and the soil is the property of all in common. Whatever travellers may say, bad morals are not found but in a state of civilization. The difficulty of gratifying his appetites leads man aside from the path which nature has traced out for him; bad education, pernicious examples, a variety of interests, frivolous tastes, and fictitious wants degrade in our eyes human nature so far as to make some metaphysicians believe that we are all born with a secret propensity to vice. Man naturally, says Hobbes, is a wicked being. Let us banish such a disagreeable idea, and let us in our fellow-creatures see good and benevolent beings. I have studied with some care the character and customs of the islanders of Madagascar; I have several times assisted at their assemblies when they were deliberating upon important affairs; I have followed them in their dances, their sports, and their amusements, and I have always found among them that prudent reserve which secures them from those fatal excesses and those vices so common among polished nations. I was, indeed, then so young that my observations cannot

which Flacourt was enabled to give, from having resided in it ten years. It was printed at Paris, in one volume quarto, with figures designed and engraven by the author, and was dedicated to the sub-intendant Fouquét, who had the principal share in the company then formed for carrying on a trade to the East Indies.—*Trapp.*

have much weight; but, if my experience is not sufficient to inspire confidence, I beg the reader to study the nature of things more than the relation of ignorant and unprincipled men, who think they have a right to exercise the most despotic sway over the inhabitants of a foreign land.

If the Malegaches have sometimes employed treachery, they were forced to it by the tyranny of the Europeans. The weak have no other arms to protect them from the attacks of the strong. Can these people defend themselves by any other means against our bayonets and artillery? They are destitute of knowledge and resources, yet we take advantage of their weakness to make them yield to our caprices; they receive the most rigorous treatment in return for the hospitality which they have so generously shown to us, and we call them traitors and cowards when we force them to break the yoke with which it has pleased us to load them.

These melancholy truths are too well proved by the ruin of the different establishments which the Europeans have attempted to form in Madagascar.

In 1642 Captain Picault obtained for himself and associates the exclusive privilege of trading to Madagascar, and at the same epoch a grant of the island was given to a powerful company by letters patent from the Crown.

One Pronis, therefore, was commissioned to take possession of Madagascar in the name of the king, with orders to form an establishment in some fertile spot which might be susceptible of defence and of an easy and safe access. In consequence of these orders he made choice of the village of Manghefia, which is situated at the extremity of the province of Carcanossi, in the latitude of 24° 30′. This place appeared to him as likely to answer the proposed end in every respect. The numerous herds of horned cattle which frequented this part of the country, and its rich fields of rice and potatoes suffered no uneasiness to remain in his mind respecting provisions. A navigable river, which takes its rise at the bottom of Mount Siliva, water-meadows of an immense extent in the neighbourhood; timber of all kinds fit for building houses or constructing ships may be found in abundance close to commodious docks, and the harbour is per-

fectly sheltered from the sea winds by the small island of St. Lucia.

Scarcely had Pronis established himself at Manghefia, when Captain Resimont brought him seventy people from France to reinforce his small colony. But the unwholesomeness of the climate in the space of a month destroyed one-third of the whole. Pronis being then obliged to abandon this first establishment, notwithstanding its advantageous situation, retired precipitately with the remains of his colony to the peninsula of Tholangar, the air of which is more salubrious.

This peninsula, which is situated in the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, increases insensibly in breadth, and might easily be secured from any attacks of the islanders by redoubts and palisades. The fort built here, the elevation of which above the sea is an hundred and fifty feet, commands the harbour, so that an enemy at anchor would not long be able to withstand the fire of its batteries. A bold shore surrounded with breakers renders it very difficult to land here, and access to the fort would be impracticable were it strengthened by some additional works. This fort, called Fort Dauphin, is of an oblong figure, and is surrounded with good walls built of lime and sand, covered with strong cement; it was thought needless to enclose it on the side towards the harbour. The anchoring ground is excellent; a ship here would sooner break her cables than drive on her anchors; but the sea winds, and above all the frequent and strong north-east breezes, are very troublesome to ships moored in this port, the entrance of which is bounded on the south by Cape Ranevate and on the north by the point of Itapera. The beautiful river of Fanshere, which has its source at the bottom of the mountains of Manghabey, runs into the sea two leagues from Fort Dauphin and very near to Cape Ranevate. This river supplies water to a large lake, which the islanders call the lake of Amboule. It is ten thousand fathoms in circumference, and its mean depth is about forty feet.

The lake of Amboule would form an excellent harbour were not the channel by which it communicates with the sea often shut up by shifting sands.

There are certain times when large vessels might easily be carried into this basin, but such opportunities are rare. Before these occasions can happen, the river, by a sudden swell, must have washed away the bar of sand which the winds and the waves are every day accumulating at its mouth, and which is formed in that spot where the current of the water is in equilibrio with the force of the tide. It is not, however, impossible to open that passage, and to clear away the sand-bank which prevents ships from entering this excellent harbour.

To effect this the hulls of some old vessels laden with ballast ought to be sunk at certain distances and in a direction which local observations made with great care could alone point out. These incumbrances would serve as so many foundations to a new sand-bank, which would be formed from the quantities daily washed in by the sea. After this preliminary operation was finished it would be necessary to wait some time until the sand-bank was pretty well consolidated to withstand the force of the river, which, when increased in strength and quantity, might produce the effect of a large sluice. The bank employed to withstand the current being constructed in such a manner as to break of itself, the violence of the stream would not fail to cleanse the mouth of the river, and to render the entrance of the lake practicable.

Every method employed to make moles in the sea might be attended with advantage in accomplishing the object here proposed. If I have given the preference to that of using the hulls of old ships, it is because it appears to me to be the most commodious, the most expeditious, and the least expensive; besides, an experiment of this nature could not fail of being useful and instructive, whatever might be its success. Vessels, when sunk, are masses so enormous and solid, on account of the care taken to bind all their parts together, that I do not think it possible to substitute for them, in moles, and works destined to withstand the fury of the sea any other bodies more capable of resisting the violence of the waves. The river Fanshere is navigable for boats to the distance of from fifteen to twenty leagues from its mouth. The labour necessary to bring the navigation of this river to perfection would be very inconsiderable.

The point of Itapera, which is to the north of Fort Dauphin, encloses, on the southern side, the great bay of Loucar. The island of St. Clair shelters it from the sea winds, and prevents the small river of Itapera from being choked up with sand, like that of Fanshere.

The port is on the leeward side of the island, but the anchoring ground here is little frequented by navigators, because the bay of Loucar abounds with shoals and quicksands.

The peninsula of Tholangar was so much the more favourable to the establishment of Pronis, as the rich and fertile valley of Amboule, and the proximity of several navigable rivers, freed him from all uneasiness respecting the means of subsisting. Mines of iron and steel of an excellent quality, hemp, resinous gums, pitch and tar, and timber fit for building houses or constructing ships, all found here in abundance, were advantages which a wise and enlightened administration would not have suffered themselves to neglect. Pronis, however, was a man destitute of talents and industry. The indolence in which he lived, as well as the Frenchmen under his command, involved the colony in all those disorders which an imprudent conduct usually produces. Licentiousness was succeeded by a spirit of revolt, and those who owed submission and obedience to their chief soon put him in irons. In this state of captivity he continued six months. When released from his imprisonment by a vessel which had arrived from France with such provisions as he stood most in need of, he rendered himself guilty of a new crime, by publicly selling to Van der Mester, the Governor of Mauritius, at present called the Isle of France, all the unfortunate Malegaches who were in the service of the establishment. What raised the indignation of the islanders to the highest pitch upon this occasion was, that there were amongst these slaves sixteen women of the race of the Lohavohits.

When the company were informed of this shameful conduct they deprived Pronis of his commission. Flacourt was chosen to succeed him, but he did not arrive at Fort Dauphin till towards the end of December, 1648. As he has published a minute account of everything which took place under his

administration, I shall not here trace out a picture of the cruelty, injustice, and oppression which that governor exercised towards the unfortunate islanders. In 1661 he sent forty Frenchmen, followed by a body of armed blacks, to burn and ravage the fertile country of Fanshere. The manner in which Flacourt violated that hospitality which had been so generously shown to him cannot be defended in an enlightened age. I am inclined to believe that every man, hereafter, who has the least regard for virtue or humanity will fly from foreign lands and renounce every commercial advantage, rather than imitate the barbarous conduct of this governor. Instead of making savage nations wear our chains, let us impart to them our sciences and our knowledge. People sunk in the darkness of ignorance, and intimidated by the superiority of our arms, cannot certainly avoid the yoke which we are pleased to lay upon them; but what right is more iniquitous than that of force? And how dare we at present accuse savage nations of treachery, when, harassed by our tyranny, they have only attempted to avenge themselves for our severity? If Flacourt knew better than Pronis how to enforce obedience from the French under his command, he did not, however, show that he was much better acquainted with the principles of the laws of nature; he was unjust and cruel towards a people, who being the proprietors of the country, ought to have given laws to him instead of receiving them. But let us leave Flacourt's "History" to those who may have courage to read it, and let us see whether his successors were less inhuman.

Fort Dauphin was burnt in 1655, and was not rebuilt till the year 1663. Chamargou, who was then governor, sent La Case to explore that part of the island which lies to the north of the country of the Matatanes. This commission La Case executed with much intelligence. It may not be here improper to give some account of the character of this man, whose memory is still celebrated among these people. La Case was only a fictitious name, that of his family was Le Vacher, and he was born at Rochelle. On his arrival at Fort Dauphin the French were held in no kind of estimation among the islanders. After great expenses that establishment was in a state of the

most deplorable decline. La Case, however, undertook to revive the consequence of the French nation, and in this he succeeded. By a great number of victories he acquired the surname of Dian Pousse, and no greater honour could have been conferred upon him by the Malegaches; for Dian Pousse is the name of a chief who formerly conquered the island, and who is even yet held in great veneration among these people.

The French, alone, withheld from La Case that justice which was due to his valour and good conduct. The governor of Fort Dauphin, jealous of the glory he had acquired by executing, in an able manner, those difficult commissions which had been assigned to him, refused either to reward or to promote him. The sovereign of the province of Amboule, named Dian-Rassitate, took advantage of the just resentment of La Case, and invited him to enter into his service. Five Frenchmen accompanied him and abandoned Fort Dauphin. Dian-Nong, Dian-Rassitate's daughter, having conceived a violent affection for La Case, offered him her hand with the consent of her father; and this chief, tottering on the brink of the grave through age and infirmities, had the consolation of securing the happiness of his subjects by rendering his son-in-law absolute master of the rich and fertile province of Amboule. When La Case married Dian-Nong, he refused the title and honours which, in that country, are attached to the sovereign power. He wished only to be considered as the first subject of his wife, who was declared sovereign after the death of her father. La Case, beloved by Dian-Nong, who, to a charming countenance, added great courage and the rarest qualities, esteemed and respected by his family and the Amboulese, to whom he was a father, could only offer up ineffectual vows for the prosperity of the French establishment at Fort Dauphin.

He was not suffered to go to the relief of his countrymen, whom he knew to be in the utmost distress. Chamargou had set a price upon his head, as well as upon those of the five Frenchmen who had followed him to Amboule. The chiefs who resided in the neighbourhood of the fort, highly irritated to find that an attempt should be made against the life of a

man for whom they entertained the highest veneration, unanimously refused to supply the colony with provisions. An absolute famine, therefore, was now added to increase the desolation occasioned by fevers and other distempers, which had reduced the number of the French to eighty men.

The establishment at Fort Dauphin was on the point of being totally ruined, when the arrival of a vessel, commanded by Kercadio, a gentleman of Brittany, suspended for some time the evils with which the colony was afflicted.

Disorder and confusion had never ceased to prevail among the French from the time that they first formed a settlement in Madagascar. The islanders detested, and even began to despise them. They were incensed at our tyranny, and our intestine divisions had weakened that sentiment of terror with which the superiority of our arms had at first inspired them. Captain Kercadio saw, therefore, that the assistance he had brought with him from France could not be of long duration. That brave officer, who was free from the prejudices of his station and the harshness peculiar to his profession, judged it necessary to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between Chamargou and La Case. He represented to the former that he could no longer consider as his subaltern a man who, by his marriage with Dian-Nong, had become not only absolute master of the province of Amboule, but sovereign also of the whole island of Madagascar. No madness, indeed, could have been attended with more fatal consequences to the French, than that of the head of a languishing colony obstinately persisting to treat as a rebel a person as powerful as he was respected, and who, by a single word, might have occasioned his destruction. Despairing that his reasoning would have any effect on the prejudiced and inflamed mind of Chamargou, Kercadio applied to an intelligent counsellor, who, through a very singular accident, had embarked in his vessel, and earnestly begged him as his friend to employ his abilities in endeavouring to convince the governor what were his real interests and those of the colony entrusted to his care.

If the counsellor succeeded in this difficult enterprise, he was less indebted for the accomplishment of his wishes to his

eloquence than to the honour of being known to and protected by the Marshal de la Meilleraye. As soon as he informed Chamargou that he should be indispensably obliged to give an account to the marshal of the cause of the misfortunes, and perhaps of the entire loss, of Fort Dauphin, the governor, who had been hitherto so haughty and intractable, who braved famine and death, and who was on the point of sacrificing to his desire of revenge the melancholy remains of the colony under his command, became timorous and submissive. The name of the marshal alone struck him with terror. He sent to beg that Kercadio would forgive his obstinacy, and did everything in his power to induce that officer to bring about a reconciliation between him and La Case, offering, at the same time, to make every reparation that might be required. Kercadio set out, therefore, for Amboule, accompanied by the counsellor. The negotiation with which he was charged experienced neither difficulty nor delay. La Case despised the vain efforts of his enemies. This respectable character had no stronger desire than that of being useful to his countrymen. He hastened to their assistance as soon as he had permission, peace and abundance followed him to Fort Dauphin, and during the time that he directed it by his counsel, disorder and want ceased to afflict that establishment.

Dian-Nong behaved with no less generosity than La Case; and such is the force of virtue, that there was not a single Frenchman who was not sensibly affected by the heroic courage of this woman, who had sufficient command over herself to banish all remembrance of the injuries done to her husband. She gave way to that sweet impulse, or rather innate desire, which inclines man to assist his fellow-creatures when he sees them in distress.

The counsellor shared with his friend Kercadio the happiness of having brought back peace and plenty to Fort Dauphin, but without forgetting the detestable stratagem by which he had been torn from his business and his favourite pursuits. He had been wandering for several years on the stormy ocean without any particular object in view, and was traversing distant countries, contrary to his interest and inclination.

His wishes, directed solely to his native soil, could not be accomplished without experiencing new distresses. The bitter remembrance of the manner in which his confidence had been abused, in order to give him up to despair, still aggravated the severity of his fate. Ye, who are so often dupes to the false appearances and deceitful looks of those impostors who found their fortunes on your credulity, may this relation be useful to you, and preserve you from the misfortune of heedlessly trusting yourselves into the hands of those worthless men who do not flatter and caress you but because they know you, and through motives which your vanity does not permit you to perceive. This counsellor, commissioned to execute an order which his family had solicited and obtained for transporting his brother to Madagascar, on account of his profligacy, was so imprudent as to entrust himself at Nantz to one of those officious men who have the perfidious talent of inspiring strangers with confidence and of profiting by their simplicity. This wretch thought it a harmless joke to kidnap the counsellor in the room of his brother, whom he suffered to escape, and by this double fraud he stripped both of them of their money.

It would appear as if Providence had thought proper to inflict this cruel punishment upon the lawyer in order to show that men ought never to depart from a strict observance of the rules of justice, even when their motive is laudable, and when, by doing so, advantages are likely to result to the person whom they wish to amend.

At the end of the last century the French wished, at any event, to people their colonies. Respecting the means of doing this they were far from being scrupulous or delicate. They often hurried away by stratagem, and oftener by violence, young men accused of misconduct. Seldom did they inquire thoroughly into the accusation brought against them, and many, without doubt, were made victims to this secret kind of inquisition. The greater part of our colonies, however, have received benefit from these forced emigrations. The exiles seem to have forsaken their vices when they changed their climate; but this effect can appear surprising only to those who are little accustomed to reflection. It may be

readily perceived that ease and liberty must have produced this change. In civilized countries the passions are inflamed by restraint, but in free and fertile countries the disturbers of social order lose their vicious inclinations almost in an instant.

Is there a freer or more happy nation in the world than the United States of America? The rights of every individual are there held sacred. Dangerous would it be for any one who should attempt to violate them. However powerful he might be he would be considered as an enemy to his country.

In that happy country virtue, knowledge, talents, and industry meet with a most distinguished reception. Burthensome privileges, frivolous distinctions, and humiliating preferences, have never yet taken deep root there as in Europe. Little inequality is found there, and the people wish to acknowledge that only which naturally arises from superiority of talents and knowledge. The action of the law has the same power over him who commands as over him who obeys. Justice is equally distributed to all, and convenience is never substituted in the room of equity.

The most numerous class of citizens is never degraded by absurd prejudices, which in Europe render individuals so much discontented with their situation that they are continually obliged to leave it. The duty of contributing towards the support of public affairs has never had the appearance of a badge of slavery. May this example make an impression on the enlightened nations of Europe, and teach them that the cause of all their disorders is that excessive inequality of power and riches, which induce the greater part of mankind to employ even the most criminal means to raise themselves from the abjection and contempt in which they are sunk by destructive prejudices.

Those who are destitute of knowledge or talents employ flattery, meanness, servility, falsehood, and perfidy, in order to elevate themselves above their equals.

It is, doubtless, morally impossible that fortune, birth, and exalted employment should not, among polished nations, give great pre-eminence to those who enjoy these advantages. It

is difficult for the poor not to be, in some respects, very much dependent on the wealthy; but if the laws fall with severity on the one, and lightly on the other; if vice dare show itself without exciting contempt and indignation; if it conduct to power and grandeur with more certainty than an union of the most valuable qualities, the sage is forced to seek obscurity in order to avoid oppression; the people, disgusted with virtue, because it opposes everything which they consider as happiness, hear no more the voice of conscience, which is silenced by the imperious cry of interest; they behold with an eye of envy those who are above them; they lose all affection for their fellow-creatures, and at length disdain labour and innocence. Ought we to be surprised that in so reversed an order of things the poor, more pressed down by the weight of their misery, than dazzled by the vain enjoyments of the rich, and the false splendour of opulence, should seek in vice and villany the means of rendering their lot more supportable? Can they be restrained by the dread of punishment when they are every moment in torture and compelled to detest their existence? Did these fatal disorders cause the same ravages in the country as in cities, the luxury and population of which are so much boasted of, agriculture would be neglected and the earth become a desert. But the laborious life of the people of the country, the simplicity of their taste and manners, and still more the smallness of villages and their respective distances, which never allow of frequent and numerous assemblies, check the progress of corruption. This destructive evil is found, above all, concentred in large capitals, where its poison, heightened by the various interests of a multitude of people collected together, diffuses itself abroad and infects every order of society. Crimes are the inevitable consequence and visible sign of a vitiated constitution.

It is then highly necessary to correct and reform everything that leads man aside from his duty; to inspire him not with contempt, but with love, for his fellow creatures; and to show him that it will promote both his interest and his happiness not to do an injury to another. It is not by multiplying executions that we can ever attain to so salutary

an end. This barbarous and ineffectual method becomes also often unjust when, by a general subversion of every principle and rule, the apparent propensity of a vicious man seduces and misleads those unhappy wretches who expiate, by punishments capable of striking fear and terror into the bosom of a cannibal, crimes that are the fruit of a fatal delusion from which education could not secure them. What enlightened man is there who, possessing the least sentiment of humanity or justice, is not moved with compassion for those melancholy victims of that depravation which prevails among numerous bodies of people, when the laws by which they are governed are neither framed with wisdom nor have that force which is necessary to preserve good order? In such cases can a virtuous judge in the bottom of his heart be as unfeeling as the law; and even when he condemns the guilty, does not his reason reproach him with his severity? Let us open our prisons, and we shall find that the criminals confined there for their crimes have been almost all hurried to those mansions of grief and misery by causes which do not exist in countries where man enjoys complete liberty in the midst of peace and tranquillity.

Every society whatever has doubtless the right of excluding from its bosom all those who disturb its good order: but can it assume to itself the power of life and death over those individuals who compose it? This question has been warmly debated, but has it ever been resolved? The Marquis of Beccaria, in his excellent treatise on *Crimes and Punishments*, says, "It appears to me absurd that laws, which are only an expression of the public will, that detests and punishes homicides, should commit the same crimes themselves; and that, to deter mankind from murder, they should themselves command a public murder. What, then, are real and useful laws?" adds Beccaria. "Those which all would propose and which all would wish to observe."

He then examines if punishments ought to be proportioned to crimes, and if the punishment of death be useful and necessary for the safety of society. On this subject he observes that frequency of punishment never rendered men better. According to this illustrious author the death of a

criminal is a less powerful check than the long and durable example of a man deprived of his liberty and obliged to repair, by the labour of his whole life, the injury he has done to society. In short, the punishment of death is not a right, but the war of a nation against a citizen.

It is not necessary that I should explain at more length the principles of the Marquis of Beccaria on crimes and punishments, and it is still less necessary that I should enter into a long and elaborate discussion of so difficult a subject. It will be sufficient for me to observe that the only principle which cannot be contested is that which gives to every society the right of expelling those who occasion in it trouble and disorder. But why have civilized nations made as yet scarcely any use of a power so just and humane? Would the earth be too small for receiving all the disturbers of public tranquillity? Africa, Asia, and America, afford immense tracts of land, uncultivated and uninhabited, into which, if malefactors were dispersed, they might introduce our language, our arts, and our industry. This, perhaps, might still be the effectual means of removing those obstacles which form a barrier between us and the rich commerce of India, by the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea. If the difficulty of approaching that coast, and the still greater difficulty of finding certain subsistence, be objected, I shall observe in reply that a few sloops, loaded with provisions, hatchets, and fire-arms, would answer the double object of procuring a safe landing and providing against want. With such light vessels one may clear the most difficult bars and approach the most dangerous shores. With regard to the possibility of subsisting in places near the sea, the history of navigation does not permit us to doubt of it. I could support my assertion by a multitude of facts, but I shall confine myself to quote only one, with the particulars of which I am perfectly acquainted; besides, this fact is one of the most conclusive. Seven negresses lived on brackish water and shell-fish for fifteen years on a shoal in the Indian Sea, known under the name of the Isle de Sable. This fact is well authenticated. A corvette, called *La Dauphine*, conveyed them to the Isle of France in 1776, and it was in 1761 that the *Utile*, the vessel in which they had embarked,

was wrecked on this dangerous sand-bank, situated to the east of Madagascar, under the fifteenth degree of latitude. This island, the greatest elevation of which above the level of the sea does not exceed fifteen feet, is absolutely barren. Its surface contains about one hundred and fifty acres, and it affords not the smallest shelter from the scorching sun of the torrid zone.

But though these desert and uninhabited countries should not always answer those views of utility, which ought to be proposed by such banishment, we cannot reasonably entertain any dread of hurting large countries inhabited by scattered tribes of savages, destitute of knowledge and industry, by leaving among them such criminals as merit the most indulgence when they cultivate useful arts.

Those who entertain any apprehensions of that kind must have reflected very little on the causes of profligacy, which produce so much mischief among civilized nations; for what vices can be hurtful in a country where equality prevails? Irregularities are never found but in great cities, in the midst of luxury and wretchedness.

Should the colony of malefactors, which the English have lately established at Botany Bay, though founded on principles different from mine, have, for the happiness of humanity, that success which it is reasonable to expect, can the other nations of Europe refuse to imitate the example? Will they complain of the expenses that such emigrations may occasion? But these expenses are just, as well as useful to society, and if we compare them with the present expenses of imprisoning and executing criminals, we shall find that they are much inferior. Can we prefer the punishment of the galleys to banishment of that kind? What advantage does society derive from those miserable objects, galley-slaves? The people necessary for guarding them, the idleness of man when stigmatized and degraded, and the means which he is continually devising to avoid the task imposed on him, render them much more burthensome than useful; besides, the union of vicious men spreads corruption indiscriminately to every individual. It is a certain fact that the least guilty become in a little time as corrupted as the rest of the profligates with

whom they associate. In short, such establishments have carried the worst of moral and physical evils into every place where it has been thought useful to form them. However important the nature of this digression may be, I ought not to extend it further, but leave to some abler pen the trouble of displaying, with method and precision, the numerous advantages which must result from banishment when commanded by justice, and directed by the spirit of wisdom, and views of utility.

But to return to my subject. La Case remained no longer at Fort Dauphin than the time absolutely necessary for re-establishing in it abundance and peace. His wife, Dian-Nong, was much disgusted with the place, and her own private affairs recalled her to Amboule; besides, Chamargou, more jealous of La Case's success than grateful for his services, would not have failed to do everything in his power to render his life uncomfortable. Of this La Case could entertain the less doubt, as the governor did not deign to join his entreaties to those of the rest of the colony, in order to induce him to remain at the fort. At the moment, however, when the French, to the number of two hundred, were levying considerable taxes from the fertile province of Carcanossi and giving law to the islanders, a cruel war again broke out to deluge that fine country in blood, and to render the assistance of La Case necessary. This war, more fatal to the French than the Malegaches, was occasioned by the inconsiderate zeal of a missionary. Dian Manangue, sovereign of the province of Mandrarey, a powerful, bold, and spirited chief, and a faithful ally of the French, had received in his *donac*, with every mark of distinction, one Father Stephen, a Lazarist, and superior of the mission of Madagascar.

This father, charmed with the excellent qualities of the chief, imagined that it would be an easy matter to convert him. When Dian Manangue perceived his intention, he thought it a mark of respect due to the friendship which he had vowed to the French, and, above all, to the recommendation of La Case, to inform the zealous missionary that all his efforts would be fruitless. These people are fond of making orations and of haranguing in public. Dian Manangue,

therefore, assembled his women and family in order that he might declare publicly that nothing was capable of making him renounce his ancient customs. "I pity," said he, "your folly in wishing that, at my age, I should sacrifice my happiness and the pleasures which surround me in my *donac* to your will. I pity you for being deprived of that which soothes the cares of life. You permit me to live with one woman, but, if the possession of one woman be a good, why is the possession of a numerous seraglio an evil, when peace and harmony prevail among those who compose it? Do you observe among us any symptoms of jealousy or seeds of hatred? No—all my women are good—they all endeavour to render me happy; and I am more their slave than their master.

"But if your maxims are so useful and necessary, why do not your countrymen at the fort follow them? They ought to know much better than I the merit and value of your words. Believe me, my friend, I will not deceive you, it is impossible for me to change my customs, I will never quit them but with my life. I, however, give you leave to exercise your zeal on the people who are subject to my authority, and I give you the same power over my family and my children. But this permission will be of very little avail unless you can suit your precepts to our manners and usages."

Father Stephen made no other reply to this speech than to order the chief, in a peremptory tone, to dismiss all his women except one. This missionary even so far lost sight of moderation that he had the temerity to threaten that he would cause the French to carry away all his women if he delayed for a moment to put his order in execution. It may be readily imagined that a behaviour so violent and unexpected must have occasioned a general indignation and revolt in the *donac*. The women fell upon the missionary, loaded him with reproaches and blows, and in their fury they would have undoubtedly strangled him, had not Dian Manangue, notwithstanding the agitation he was under, come speedily to his assistance. The chief was obliged to make use of all his authority before he was permitted to remain alone a single moment with this father, whom he dismissed after giving him

a rich present. Besides, he asked of the missionary a respite of fifteen days to determine on the grand affair of his conversion; but this delay, solicited with so much earnestness by the chief and with difficulty granted by the missionary, was intended to answer a very different purpose. Dian Manangue wished to gain time in order to quit the province of Mandrarey, without dread of being pursued by the French, and, when he thought he could do this in safety, he departed with his women and slaves to seek shelter in the country of the Machicores, which is twenty-five leagues distant from Fort Dauphin.

His departure, however, was not so private as to escape the knowledge of Father Stephen, for he had spies even in the *donac* of the chief. In vain, therefore, did Chamargou endeavour to retain him. The missionary, consulting only his zeal, formed the rash resolution of following Dian Manangue to the country of the Machicores. A brother of St. Lazarus and another Frenchman, with six servants or domestics, loaded with sacerdotal habits, accompanied him in this dangerous expedition.

In the first week of Lent, 1664, Father Stephen joined Dian Manangue, after experiencing much fatigue and a multitude of disasters. The chief, more astonished than alarmed at the courage of the missionary, behaved to him with the most profound reverence, and received him in a manner which he had no title to expect. In vain did he beg him to renounce the project which he had formed of converting him, observing that his manners and usages were an insuperable obstacle to such a change. Father Stèphen, instead of making any reply, snatched from him his *oli* and his amulets, threw them into the fire, and declared open war against him. It need be no matter of surprise that this violent conduct of the missionary should occasion his destruction as well as that of those who attended him. Dian Manangue caused them all to be instantly butchered, and at the same time swore that he would entirely extirpate the French from the island. In order that he might execute this fatal vow with more certainty, the chief sent his son, who had been baptised, to La Vatangue, his brother-in-law, to acquaint him with the

motives which had induced him to free himself from the tyranny of the French, whose insidious designs aimed at nothing less than to abolish the manners, usages, and religion of the country, adding that his *oli* (a kind of amulet consulted by these islanders) had commanded him to defend them, even at the hazard of his life, and he assured La Vatangue that the French had rendered themselves incapable of conquering since they had dared to proceed to such criminal excesses. The irritated chief gave notice to his brother-in-law, also, that Chamargou had sent forty Frenchmen to the eastern coast, and that he might easily surprise and massacre them. "I send you my son," continued he, at the end of the letter, "to be at the head of the army which you dispatch to attack and destroy the French; it is my *oli* that inspires me, and you are well acquainted with the misfortunes which come upon us when we do not faithfully obey its mandates. My son will give you a particular account of everything that has passed, and you will, no doubt, be filled with indignation when you know the perfidious behaviour of these strangers towards their most faithful ally." La Vatangue was extremely happy on receiving this intelligence of the expedition of the forty Frenchmen, but he had only time to be upon his guard, for two days after the arrival of his nephew his spies brought him word that the French were encamped at the distance of a league from his village.

This chief sent them a present of rice, honey, and four oxen, begging them to inform him what was the intention of their journey, because he had never seen such a numerous body of Europeans in the interior parts of the island. La Forge, who commanded this detachment, returned for answer that he had orders to subject his country to the dominion of Fort Dauphin. The chief, alarmed at so unexpected an enterprise, requested peace, offered to give him four hundred oxen, and observed that his country of Haye-Fontchy was at too great a distance from the fort to excite the hatred or jealousy of the French. La Forge rejected with disdain the proposals of the chief, and had the madness to ask twenty thousand oxen as the price of a peace. To so extravagant a demand La Vatangue made no reply; but whilst these ad-

venturers were ranging through a field of sugar-canes he caused them all to be slaughtered.

The particulars of the disaster which befel these forty adventurers sent out by Chamargou were known by a Portuguese, who was the only person that escaped, by taking shelter in a large marsh covered with reeds and stagnated water. In this place he remained two days, concealed up to the neck in mud. The islanders who pursued him, fearing that they would sink in the earth, which was soft and spungy, set fire to the reeds in order that they might oblige the Portuguese to come forth, but under cover of the thick smoke, occasioned by this conflagration, he had the good fortune to escape. The islanders wished much to destroy this man, that Chamargou might not receive intelligence of the fate of his companions and come to attack them before the arrival of Dian Manangue, who was still with his army in the country of the Machicores.

The Portuguese related that their expedition had been attended with success till they fell in with La Vatangue. Their number spread terror and consternation throughout all the villages where they passed; the chiefs paid without hesitation the contributions which were exacted, and they were on the point of reaping the fruit of a long and fatiguing journey when the insatiable rapacity of their commander occasioned their ruin and the loss of their rich booty.

Chamargou, in this relation, ought to have perceived the just punishment of these unfortunate plunderers, who were going to ravage countries over which they had no kind of authority; but this governor, instead of profiting by the lesson given him, formed the fatal resolution of carrying fire and the sword amongst the Malegaches. He set out, therefore, at the head of thirty Frenchmen, followed by a small army of Manamboulese, slaughtered without distinction both women and children, set fire to all the villages which he found in the course of his march, and took possession of the *donac* of Dian Manangue. Father Mannier, the only missionary who remained, carried his standard during this bloody and inhuman expedition, on the particulars of which I shall not farther enlarge. An eye-witness, who was afterwards pro-

vincial commissary of artillery, published an account of it in 1722, in a work entitled, *A Voyage to Madagascar*, by M. V.

The manuscripts which furnished me with materials for this relation do not agree in every point with that author; but it appears that Chamargou was obliged, by an absolute scarcity of provisions, to make an attempt to regain Fort Dauphin. When he arrived at the great river Mandrarey, and was endeavouring to cross it, Dian Manangue, who had watched his motions, appeared on the opposite bank with an army of six thousand men to oppose his passage. This chief, bearing the surplice and square cap of the missionary Stephen at the head of his forces, braved the French, who were on the point of perishing by famine. In the meantime La Case arrived, accompanied by ten Frenchmen and three thousand Androfaces, who were his subjects, or rather the subjects of his wife, Dian-Nong. As soon as this brave man came up he rushed into the water, ordered his people to fire upon the enemy, and by the terror of his name, rather than the superiority of his arms, forced them to quit the borders of the river and to betake themselves to flight. Though the approach of night ought to have prevented him, he then set forward to pursue them. Having discovered Dian Manangue amidst a numerous body of the islanders, he wished to throw himself upon him; but Rabazé, a friend and favourite of the chief, had the courage to stop him and to sacrifice his life to save that of his sovereign. The darkness of night only put an end to the carnage; but on the conclusion of this bloody war Fort Dauphin was again reduced to the most deplorable state of distress. The chiefs ceased to send in provisions, and even intercepted those which the garrison endeavoured to procure from distant parts. Dian Manangue, who pretended to be sovereign lord of a great part of the island, threatened our establishment with a formidable army, and his presence alone would have occasioned a famine, had it not been for five thousand cattle which La Case found means to convey into the fort. All the expeditions of this extraordinary man were attended with the most complete success. With thirteen Frenchmen and two thousand Androfaces, he defeated Dian Ravaras, who was at the head of an army of eighteen thou-

sand men, and took from him twenty-five thousand oxen and five thousand slaves. The great celebrity of La Case made the council of the company at length see the necessity of employing and rewarding a man who had rendered them such signal services, and who was still capable of rendering them much greater.

They therefore sent him a lieutenant's commission, made him at the same time a present of a sword, and congratulated him on his success.

La Case charged M. de Rennefort, who was returning to France, to thank the company for the new marks of favour conferred on him, and to inform them that he would undertake the conquest of the island with two hundred Frenchmen, and realize the other advantageous projects which he had already had the honour of proposing, if they would agree that he should be accountable to them only for his conduct. It does not, however, appear that the company adopted this plan, which was more that of a brave soldier than of an enlightened governor, for an honest man respects the laws of hospitality, and laments to see the principles of justice and humanity violated for the sordid interests of commerce.

In 1666 the Marquis of Mondevergue was appointed by the king to the general command of all the French establishments situated on the other side of the equinoctial, and Caron and La Faye had, at the same time, the management of all the commerce of the Indies. The Marquis of Mondevergue arrived at Fort Dauphin on the 10th of March, 1667, in a vessel of thirty-six guns, and was followed by a small fleet of nine ships, on board of which were two directors of the Indies, an attorney-general, four companies of infantry, ten chiefs of colonies, eight merchants, and thirty-two women.

As soon as Mondevergue arrived he caused himself to be proclaimed admiral and governor-general of the French colonies in the East. He was, however, obliged to have recourse to La Case in order to procure provisions for his fleet. La Case, ever ready to serve his country, provided for the whole, and, besides this, brought about a reconciliation between the French and Dian Manangue, whose bravery and

intelligence were not to be despised. This chief, who at the fort was styled the Prince of Mandrarey, swore obedience and fidelity to the governor-general.

Caron, who was a Dutchman, did not remain long at Fort Dauphin. He set out for Surat with a great part of the fleet, in order to take the management of that settlement.

La Faye, however, continued at Fort Dauphin, and in the month of November, 1670, another fleet of ten ships arrived, commanded by M. de la Haye, Captain of the *Navarre*, a vessel of fifty-six guns. All these ships belonged to the king, and were equipped with the war complement of arms and men. La Haye assumed the quality of general and admiral, with the authority of viceroy, and made Chamargou second in command, and La Case major of the island. At this period the company had given up to the king the sovereignty of Madagascar.

The Marquis of Mondevergue, to whose option it had been left either to remain governor of the island or to return to France, choose the latter course, and embarked in a ship called the *Mary*, in the month of February, 1671. On his arrival at Port Louis he found a commissary, who had orders to make him give an account of his administration. The company were much incensed against him, for La Haye, with whom he had quarrelled, had aspersed his character and accused him of several misdemeanors. Though the public voice was in his favour, this brave officer, who had governed the island with prudence and re-established peace in it, was obliged to yield to the superior influence of his adversary, and died a prisoner in the castle of Saumur.

La Haye, whose authority was unlimited, now resolved to deliver himself from those chiefs who gave him offence, and accordingly proposed to Chamargou and La Case to declare war against Dian Ramousaye, who had come to render him homage. This chief, who resided nearest to Fort Dauphin, was summoned to send immediately to the fort all the arms which he had received from the French. It may be readily conjectured that this demand was followed by an absolute refusal. La Haye, therefore, ordered Chamargou and La Case to besiege Dian Ramousaye in his village. They had

under their command seven hundred Frenchmen and six hundred Malegaches; but their attack was not attended with success, for Dian Ramousaye made so vigorous a defence that the French were obliged to retire. This check did not appear natural, and it was believed that Chamargou, discontented at being only second in command in a country where he had always been first, had contributed not a little to the failure of an enterprise, the injustice of which they had not even deigned to conceal. However this may be, La Haye was so much dejected by the miscarriage of his first expedition that he resolved to abandon Fort Dauphin and to carry his forces to Surat, after having visited the island of Mascarenhas, since called the Isle of Bourbon.

The pride of this governor was very much hurt to think that the whole extent of his authority was not sufficient to prevent Chamargou, who had the superiority over him in point of local knowledge, from being able, by secret machinations, to counteract at his pleasure the operations which he wished to carry into effect.

La Haye's departure was followed by the death of the brave La Case, and it was not difficult to foresee that the loss of this celebrated man would infallibly occasion that of the colony.

At this period it was well known that the islanders breathed nothing but vengeance against us, and eagerly sought an opportunity of retaliating for our injustice and oppression. Our yoke was become odious and insupportable to them. Historians, for the honour of civilized nations, ought to bury in oblivion every detail of the atrocious cruelties exercised against those people whom they brand with the odious epithets of barbarians, traitors, and thieves, because they have revolted against some European adventurers, whose least crime was a violation of the sacred rights of hospitality.

If the disestablishment at Fort Dauphin subsisted so long, notwithstanding the detestable administration of these rulers, it was the name alone of La Case which kept the Malegaches under subjection in so vicious a constitution. The memory of that truly extraordinary man is still held in great veneration among these islanders. His bravery, joined to more valuable

qualities, and above all, the alliance he contracted by his marriage with Dian-Nong, inspired them with so much respect that it was only after his death that all these chiefs united against the wretched remains of the French adventurers, whose temporary successes were always followed by memorable disasters.

La Case, without doubt, was of too war-like a disposition, and this is a stain upon his memory; but all people almost have a secret propensity to this destructive scourge, which desolates the most beautiful countries in the world and occasions a thousand times more evils to mankind than all the other scourges united. What man is there whom a passion for glory does not sometimes so far intoxicate as to make him forget every sentiment of justice and humanity? It is very difficult for a brave soldier to make his conduct in every respect that of a philosopher, and, under this point of view, it would, perhaps, be unjust to pass a severe censure upon all the actions of him who in Madagascar did most honour to his nation.

Chamargou survived La Case only a short time, and was succeeded by La Bretesche in the command of the settlement. La Bretesche was La Case's son-in-law, but he possessed neither the talents nor the influence of his predecessor. Finding that it was impossible for him to preserve his authority amidst the division and disorder which prevailed between the French and the natives, he took advantage of a ship which had touched at the island, and which was going to Surat, to embark for that colony with his whole family. Several missionaries and some Frenchmen followed his example, but scarcely had the vessel set sail when a signal of distress appeared hoisted on the fort. The captain of the vessel immediately ordered his boats to be launched, and proceeded towards the shore, but he arrived only time enough to pick up, below the walls, a few miserable wretches who had escaped a general massacre of the garrison, which had been effected in consequence of orders given for that purpose by Dian Ramousaye and other chiefs in the neighbourhood. Such was the dismal end of a colony which might have become flourishing and useful to commerce, had not those

who directed it taken every method they could to render the French name odious to these people, naturally mild, hospitable, and humane.

Among the different memoirs which I have consulted in compiling this historical account of the first establishments of the French in the southern part of Madagascar, I must make honourable mention of a manuscript given me by M. de Malesherbe. That minister, dear to the sciences and to letters, whose venerable name is never pronounced but accompanied with that tribute of homage and respect which are due to knowledge united with virtue, had the goodness to add to it a large map of Madagascar, accurately delineated and executed with great care. That map, which he permitted me to have reduced and engraved, is prefixed to this work.

The manuscript and the map which accompanied it were the production of M. Robert, who, in 1725, dedicated them to the Duke de Chaulnes, whose protection he then solicited in order to form a new establishment in the northern part of Madagascar.

M. Robert had been taken by the pirates and conducted to that island, where he remained several years, which he employed usefully in traversing its principal provinces and making himself acquainted with their productions. The object of his plan for an establishment there was to collect the riches which the pirates had dispersed throughout the northern part of the country, while it served them as a place of refuge; but this project, the advantages of which would perhaps never have compensated for the expense, was not carried into execution. At present there are no considerable establishments in Madagascar but one, formed of late years in the southern part by M. de Modave, a man of spirit and a brave officer, and another in the northern part by Count Benyowski. I was at the Isle of France in 1768, when M. de Modave came, in the name of the king, to take possession of the government of Fort Dauphin. The Duke de Praslin was then Minister of the Marine, and had approved the plan presented to him by M. de Modave.

If the result of this new enterprise did not correspond with the hopes which the minister had entertained, it

was because every colony, not founded on the happiness and instruction of those people among whom an attempt is made to establish it, will always have temporary success only. It is not soldiers, but artizans, farmers, and well-informed and laborious men, that ought to be established among such people. We ought never to forget that the treaties of savages with the Europeans are, in every respect, like those which children would make with philosophers, and since the treaties hitherto formed with the Malegaches are evidently in that situation, it would be highly unjust to take advantage of them contrary to the interests of these islanders. There are none but stupid or dishonest men who can affix a value to contracts so ridiculously illusory. You have obtained by cunning; you have by force extorted concessions from the credulous inhabitants of foreign lands, and because they foresee not the danger to which they expose themselves by receiving you amongst them with friendship and generosity, you wish even to turn their kindness against them, and to make a right of them in order to oppress them, and subject them to your dominion.

ALEXIS ROCHON, 1768.

POSTSCRIPT.

The learned Abbé, Alexis Rochon, was a native of Brest. When quite a young man he was appointed Astronome de la marine *and nautical surveyor to the French man-of-war* l'Union, 60 *guns, in which vessel he accompanied General Breugnon, ambassador of Louis XV., in* 1767, *to Morocco. In the following year Rochon was dispatched in the* Normande, *under Captain Tromelin, to determine with precision the localities of the numerous islets and reefs which lie between India and the Mascarene Islands. During the same year he visited Madagascar, and landed at Foule Point, Nosy Ibrahim or St. Mary's Island and the French establishment in Antongil Bay. Rochon made careful observations of the country, and carried back with him a valuable collection of economical plants indigenous to Madagascar, several species of which he succeeded in introducing by cultivation in Bourbon and the Isle of France.*

An extract from a portion of the exhaustive report of Abbé Rochon [*which was translated into English by Mr. Jos. Trapp, in* 1792] *has been selected as a fitting sequel to the romantic journal of Robert Drury, as it contains the most authentic account obtainable of the Island of Madagascar, so far as it was known to the French officials of Mauritius during the years treated of in Drury's narrative. Rochon has subsequently given the curious story of La Bigorne and the true aspect of the most wonderful romance woven by the Hungarian desperado, self-styled the Baron Maurice Augustus Aladar de Benyowski.*

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